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# COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF INTERVENERS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

by

© SANDRA LEE SUSUT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis is to explore the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. Motivation for undertaking this topic resulted from unresolved tensions associated with the author's experience as an intervener in the application of community development in the Northwest Territories. Explanations for these tensions are sought in the theory of community development and the role implied by it for interveners, both in relationship to the particular political and economic context of the Northwest Territories.

The data brought to bear on the topic includes: information from the literature on community development and development theory, data on the political and economic development of the Northwest Territories, and information on the experiences of interveners from a combination of participant-observation and interviewing.

In exploring the topic, the theory of community development and implicit role for interveners are first critically examined at a general and theoretical level. From the criticisms which emerge an alternative model of development, that which is implicit in the liberation literature, and an alternative role for interveners are posed. As this will demand an analysis of political and economic relationships of power, an analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories is presented based on an historical and descriptive account of the

Territories. The experiences of interveners who had worked in association with community development in the Northwest Territories are recorded.

Conclusions are drawn from a critical assessment of all of the material presented. It is concluded that the theory of community development and implicit role for interveners does not evoke an adequate analysis of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. The recorded experiences of the interveners in the Northwest Territories are found to contradict the role implied by community development. Thus both association with the model of community development and the role it implies for interveners are found to be sources of role conflict for interveners. The findings reflect the need for an alternative model of development and role for interveners in the Northwest Territories to which the liberation paradigm and concept of solidarity work are suggested as possible starting points.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Undertaking this thesis has afforded me an opportunity to reflect on my experiences as an intervener in the Northwest Territories. This reflection was made possible through the involvement and encouragement of many people. I would like to express special appreciation to my thesis supervisor, Marilyn Assheton-Smith, whose continuous support enabled the completion of this thesis. Through our many discussions I was challenged to explore new knowledge systems and gained valuable insights. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Glen Eyford and Graham Lowe, for their helpful suggestions.

One of the most important learnings from my thesis was recognition of the necessity of struggling collectively to understand one's reality. The interviews as well as the many discussions with friends and colleagues served as the collective reflection by which I gained a new understanding of the reality which I experienced in the Northwest Territories. I wish to express my gratitude to all the people who shared their experiences and analyses with me.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my family and friends for their belief in me and their encouragement to continue with the process until completion.

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# INTRODUCTION

## The Problem

The topic of this thesis is the exploration of the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories in Canada. The motivation for undertaking this particular topic is a result of my four years work experience in the Territories (Appendix I provides a summary of this experience). While working as an intervener I experienced seemingly irresolvable tensions regarding my role. These tensions were most acute in relation to my role as a non-native intervener attempting to contribute to development in the cross-cultural (and largely native) context of the Northwest Territories.[1]

To explore the role of interveners in development requires more than just examining the intervener role itself. That role must be viewed in association with a definition or model of development, which in this case was the definition or model associated with the term community development. My experience in the Northwest Territories left me questioning the capacity of community development to function as a development model or theory. In particular, it seemed unlikely that it would assist in the creation of sufficient change so that the majority of native people

could achieve control over their lives, which was ostensibly its goal.

This thesis then becomes the forum for reflection on my experiences and the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories in an attempt to understand the concerns that were raised for me.[2] Why did community development approaches seem unable to change the situation of native people? Did other interveners have experiences similar to mine? Or were my responses unique, and therefore perhaps not evidence of problems with the community development model? If my experiences were not unique and community development is not the most useful theoretical model for practitioners in development, what would be an alternative? What factors must be considered in identifying or developing alternative models of development, and therefore alternative definitions of the intervener role?

In my work as an intervener in the Northwest Territories, contradictions seemed to center on the relationship between myself and "those to be developed," in this case, the native people of the Northwest Territories. Included were concerns over power asymmetries, exploitation, paternalism and forms of oppression within the relationship. In association with this, I began to question what my interest was in development and how this related to the interests of "those to be developed." Out of these kinds of concerns grew the motivation for examining the role of

interveners in development in the Northwest Territories.

## Purpose of this Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. In exploring the role, three key questions are asked:

a. does the theory of community development, and the role implied therein for interveners, adequately explain the political, economic, and social realities of the Northwest Territories so that social change can be created and

b. does the theory of community development and the role implied for interveners account for the actual experiences of community development workers as interveners in the Northwest Territories, and

c. is there an alternative development theory which more adequately accounts for the political, economic and social realities of the territories and the experiences of interveners.

If the theory of community development provides an appropriate model of development for the Territorial context, then one would expect that the recipient population, in this case the native peoples, would recognize the advantages of the institutions brought by interveners and gradually adopt them. Secondly, one would expect that development would occur with little conflict, the implication being that interests of all people can be served by this model of development. If this is the case and the community development worker accepts the theory of community development as part of the dominant Western development paradigm and goes into the Territories as a transmitter of

technology and pre-developed institutional structures, then the community development worker as intervener should experience little role tension. However, if the theory of community development held by interveners does not fit with the reality of their experience, they will experience extreme stress and role conflict.

The thesis then needs to address an alternative model of development. The model of development which most explicitly addresses the concerns raised is a model implied in the liberation literature associated with the works of such people as Freire, Gutierrez, Cabral and Goulet and the emerging struggles for liberation in various parts of the "Third World".[3] The notion of development in the liberation paradigm emphasizes the centrality of power relations to the processes of development and underdevelopment. It demands an analysis of political and economic structures and relations.

If one can more adequately describe the history and current reality of the Northwest Territories with a model that clearly addresses political and economic structures and changes required to them than with the Western development paradigm, which emphasizes technological and attitudinal change, then it follows that role conflict will arise for interveners working in situations in which inherent power contradictions are not recognized. If such role conflict does occur, then it will be necessary to look toward an alternative role for interveners. The emerging concept of

solidarity work will be looked to for possible insights.

The following concepts are key to the thesis: role, intervener, development, cross-cultural, social change, and political economy. They can be interpreted as they are used in the development literature. However, explicit definitions are provided in the footnotes to this introduction.

## Data and Methodology

In order to consider these questions about the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories, the data used was the following:

1. a description, derived from the literature of "community development" as a model of development; a critical discussion at a theoretical level of this model, and a description of the alternative "liberation paradigm" of development.

2. a historical and descriptive account of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories

3. an account of the personal experiences of interveners in the Northwest Territories from a participant - observation perspective combined with intensive interviews with five individuals who experienced role conflict as interveners.

The overall methodology was to use the Northwest Territories as a single case study to test the applicability of community development theory and the implicit role for interveners. Data about the experience of interveners was gathered through participant-observation (my four years of working in the Territories) and interviewing of five other interveners. The models of development used in the thesis

were derived from a literature review, and data about the political and economic development of the Northwest Territories were obtained from available sources, supplemented by primary data obtained from interviews.

The material presented in the thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter One provides the background material for the statements made above regarding the purpose of the thesis in terms of an explication of the two models of development. The history of the term community development and its application is reviewed. Included is the political and economic context in which the term emerged. A composite definition of community development derived from this discussion is criticized at a general level. This critique is derived from the work of theoreticians and practitioners in the area of development and a logical analysis of community development as a theory. An alternative model of development implicit in liberation literature is contrasted as a possible way of dealing with the criticisms made against community development. An alternative role for interveners is also presented.

Chapter Two presents an historical and descriptive account of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. This information provides the data base from which to determine whether the theory of community development and implicit intervener's role are

appropriate in this context. The material in this chapter is used to ascertain what factors in the specific context of the Territories could explain the difficulties and concerns over development models and roles.

Chapter Three presents the experiences of interveners associated with the application of community development in the Northwest Territories. Through participant-observation concerns over the role of interveners are identified. Data from the interviews are systematically analysed to further explore these themes and concerns. The information presented in this chapter will be used to determine whether the actual experiences of these interveners can be accounted for by the theory of community development and implicit intervener role.

Chapter Four presents an analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories. The model of development associated with the liberation literature demands an analysis of political and economic relationships of power. From this analytical perspective it will be determined whether a more adequate explanation can be found for the realities of the application of development models in the Territories and for the implications of the actual experiences for interveners as recorded in Chapter Three.

Chapter Five presents the conclusions drawn regarding community development and the role of interveners in the Northwest Territories. The conclusions are a result of an

integration of the literature reviewed, my own participant-observation in the Territories and the interviews undertaken. As this work must be considered exploratory rather than definitive, suggestions for further research are included.

## Limitations of the Thesis

The desired outcome is an integrated understanding of a number of facets of the intervener role to be explored in the context of the Northwest Territories. Therefore, community development theory, alternative development theory and the implicit role for interveners in each are dealt with at an overall structural level as opposed to extensive work on any specific detail. To review all of the literature and to analyze each facet and concern in depth is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, it is an overall picture of the role of interveners that is being sought.

Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to develop in detail an alternative model of development for the Northwest Territories or to work out in specific detail what could be the role of an intervener in the Territories. Rather, suggestions will be made as to what should be taken into consideration in dealing with each.

The major methodological limitation is the fact that interviewees are not a statistically defined random or representative sample. One cannot, therefore, draw

inferences about the experiences of all interveners in the Northwest Territories from this thesis. Rather one must treat the analysis as exploratory, drawing on the knowledge and experiences of a number of people who have worked as interveners. Patterns in the life history of these interveners will be documented and incorporated into the analysis, but they must be considered suggestive. To be fully confident of the results one would require a much larger study than is possible here.

## Significance of the Problem

This thesis focuses on the role of interveners engaged in development in the Northwest Territories. As the thesis is derived from my own experience it seeks to find explanations for the tensions that I felt in that role while working within community development as a model of development. The thesis then seeks to point out the considerations required in alternative developmental models and roles. In addition to being of particular interest to myself, this thesis topic should be of interest to other persons who have or continue to work in development in the Northwest Territories. Although there has been increased writing on development in the Northwest Territories in recent years, there is almost none that addresses the specific question of the role of interveners in a comprehensive way.

Also, within the field defined academically or occupationally as community development, many people find themselves working in cross-cultural contexts involving the imposition of institutions,[4] If not cross-cultural, most community development interveners are outsiders to the specific groups or issues of those with whom they work. Inferences from this study regarding the role of interveners in contexts other than the Northwest Territories should be of central concern to the field of community development.

On a broader scale international aid programs and domestic development programs are undergoing criticism for their inability to significantly improve the situation of the so-called "underdeveloped" of the world, in fact in some cases the disparity between rich and poor only increases with developmental aid (*c.f.* Goulet and Hudson, 1971; Lotz, 1977). The conceptual bases for the theories of development utilized are also under fire (*vide* Goulet in *The Cruel Choice*, 1973). Criticism similar to that directed at the structural level is also beginning to be directed at the role of interveners in development work. An example of this is the debate over the significance of the difference between support work and solidarity work (*vide* Sinclair, 1979). A critical look at the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories may be one means of addressing the wider issues raised in the above debates.

To restate, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. The thesis will examine the adequacy of the theory of community development, and the implicit role for interveners, to operate as a model of development in the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. As essential background material to this examination, the following chapter introduces the theory of community development and the role implied by it for interveners.

## Footnotes to the Introduction

1. The following terms are central to the thesis and require definition. Role as used in this thesis prescribes certain ways of behaving, but also allows an amount of creative interpretation for the incumbent of the particular role (Delamont, 1976:42). In this thesis, role denotes the behavior and part played by people working as community development workers or as workers in positions seen to be developmental. Herein incumbents of these roles shall be called interveners. Interveners are generally representatives of one group of people who decide that there is need for change in another group of people. They then interpose themselves or intervene in the process of change of that other group.

Although hypothetically the interveners could be internal to the group, in most community development practice they are external. External may imply being an outsider to the other group according to race, ethnicity, geographic origin, sex or class. Intervener is used throughout the text of the thesis to imply external and exceptions to this are noted. Thus, the term intervener denotes those persons who were not from the Northwest Territories and not native but who through their work entered into a process of development with native people in the Territories.

On both a general level and in specific reference to the Northwest Territories, there exists a great deal of conflict over what development is or should be (*c.f.* Rostow, 1960; Goulet, 1973; Government of the Northwest Territories, 1976; Berger, 1977). Throughout the text of the thesis, the term development connotes a range of processes designated by those who use them as development. However, what I mean by development is a definition implicit in liberation literature (*vide* Freire, Gutierrez, Goulet). This definition elucidates the need for changes to the political and economic structures in order to eliminate societal contradictions based on structurally determined exploitation and asymmetrical power relations so that people can assume control over their own change process. To make this definition explicit in the thesis at this point would preclude discussion that will be raised within the thesis.

Although there is recognition of an individual dimension of relationships between individuals of differing cultural backgrounds (on a psychological or sociological level), the term cross-cultural is used herein to imply the imposition of a set of institutions by one group of people on the institutions of another group of people. Cross-cultural denotes the imposition of political, economic and social structures in a process of colonization both in colonial Africa where community development was used extensively and in its application in the Northwest

Territories. In the case of the Territories, the institutions of Euro-Canadians were imposed on the native population. Interveners may work as representatives of such structures and may view the imposed political, economic or social structures as natural and normal.

Social change is used herein to imply a process of change in society whereby social structures are changed in a way that empowers people to gain control over their own process of development, that is, that enables peoples to become the subjects of their own history. This definition reflects the influence of the work of Paulo Freire.

Political economy is used herein to stress the interrelationship of political, economic, social and cultural processes. The term denotes a field of social sciences distinct from pure economics which considers the importance of political conditions and social institutions as interconnected with economic processes. In Canada, the use of the term political economy is connected to a tradition in which the name of Harold Innis is predominant, for example, in his work, *Essays in Canadian Economic History*, 1956.

2. Initially a primary motivation for undertaking this thesis was to understand the role of women as interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. Based on my own experience in the Territories I wanted to determine what part being a woman had to do with the origins of the tensions that I had felt in the role of intervener. During the last two years of my experience in the Territories, I had been strongly influenced by feminist theory and the literature of liberation of women. I had come to identify that the oppression that I felt most directly was, in general, as a woman. This was intensified with my move to Edmonton by the increased opportunity for exposure to feminist thought and for involvement in women's organizations, and issues.

All of this influenced my orientation to my thesis topic. A section of questions "to determine what part gender of the intervener played in the relationship with those that they chose to work with and in defining the role of intervener" was incorporated into the interview schedule. It was important to interview women as well as men to ascertain whether the responses to those questions differed according to gender.

The interviews confirmed that the role was different for men and women especially because of the extensive patriarchal control in the Territories. For example, the government is heavily dominated by men, as are the native organizations, and most community decision-making bodies, therefore dealing with authority at any level meant usually dealing with men. As women we often were not included in certain activities and relationships (for example, in social relationships with native men, hunting, etc.) that allowed

non-native men more access to certain kinds of information and influence in communities. Some of the males interviewed recognized that in working with native people they gained their authority from their position, their race (white) and their gender. Being female, afforded less power to women in relationships. Women felt that they were not taken as seriously, were viewed in the domestic role or written off altogether. A sexual dynamic was also present between native men and non-native female interveners that sometimes posed problems.

However, in the process of writing my thesis I came to recognize that the inequalities between native and non-native people in the Northwest Territories were based on factors determined by the political economy and justified through racism. I came to recognize that the origin of the tensions I had felt in the role of intervener in the Northwest Territories were based in the structural determinants of the political economy and with the model of development in which I worked, not in sexism per se. Therefore I chose not to develop the question of gender as one of the foci of the thesis. However, it remains an important question and one that I hope further research will address.

3. The writings of those associated with the liberation literature are based in experiences in various countries and include the following:

Paulo Freire, author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Education for Critical Consciousness* worked with peasants in Brazil from which he developed the pedagogy of cultural action for freedom.

Gustavo Gutierrez is a theologian and social activist who continues to work in Peru. His writings, along with those of other Latin American liberationists, such as Gustavo Perez, Rubem Alves, Juan Segundo, are found largely in papers circulated by documentary services such as LADOC (Latin American Bureau, United States Catholic Conferences), ISAL (*Iglesia y Sociedad en America Latina*) and the Theology of Liberation Symposium (in Spanish), Bogata.

Amilcar Cabral, prior to his death, wrote extensively on the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, for example, *Revolution in Guinea*.

Denis Goulet, author of *The Cruel Choice*, has written on new concepts in development based on his experiences with so-called "underdeveloped" peoples in Africa and South America.

4. As per footnote number 1, the term cross-cultural is used to denote the imposition of political, economic and social structures.

# CHAPTER I.

## EXAMINATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The role of interveners in development can only be understood within the context of a particular model of development. In the Northwest Territories the model was that of community development. Therefore, this chapter examines the theory of community development as a model of development and the role it implies for interveners or community development workers.

The information presented is derived from a review of the literature of the field of development and community development in particular. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the term, a review is presented of the historical origins and application of community development, both internationally and in the Canadian context. A composite definition of community development is drawn from the traditional community development literature.

The model of development implied by this definition is then critically assessed on the basis of literature from within and outside of the field of community development and from a logical analysis of community development as a theory. The role implied for interveners in this model is

similarly assessed. It is the application of the model of community development in the Northwest Territories that will be examined in later chapters to determine whether it can account for political, economic and social realities and the actual experiences of interveners.

An alternative model of development and an alternative role for interveners are outlined to address the theoretical criticisms of community development. In later chapters the theoretical bases of this alternative model and role will be applied to the reality of the Northwest Territories and to the experiences of interveners to see if further insights can be gained.

## Historical Review of Community Development

Historically, community development was first recognized as a term representing a particular concept after the Second World War. Credit for the innovation of the term is given by some to Peter du Sautoy. Reporting to the British Colonial Office on his work in Ghana he defined community development as:

> ...working with people at their own level of progress and teaching them to help themselves by the methods which are readily available to them, to improve their standard and manner of living by all practical means, no matter how little.
> ...In the definition of community development the words 'to help themselves' must always be stressed as the most important.
> ...the spirit of communal effort for the good of all is a spirit which community development aims to foster (du Sautoy, 1955:8).

However, precursors of community development date back much earlier and derive from a variety of countries. In India there were the attempts of the London based Native Philanthropic Society in the 1830's, Tagore's village level workers starting in 1910 and the Constructive Program of Gandhi in the 1940's. In China there was the mass education campaign of the 1920's. In Canada one example would be the co-operative movement of Father Tompkins and Moses Coady in Nova Scotia in the 1920's (Lotz, 1977:102-113). In British and French colonial Africa community development and animation sociale represented a merging of mass education and social work approaches in the 1930's (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:25).

Within the sphere of British influence, the 1948 Cambridge Summer Conference on African Administration adopted the term community development to designate their activities and defined it as:

> ...(a) movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. Community development embraces all forms of betterment (England, 1958:2).

Britain adopted this stance toward her colonies in a very particular social, economic and political context. (It is important to understand this context as one of the central foci of this thesis is to determine whether

community development can explain and deal with the economic and political context of the Northwest Territories.) World War II had followed closely on the heels of the 1930's depression. Post World War II Britain as with other European countries was drained of financial resources. Those in the British Colonial Office were becoming cognizant of the growing struggle for political independence of colonial territories. Russian actions in Europe and the related Cold War of the early 1950's were associated with the fear that colonies seeking independence would turn or fall to communism (Lotz, 1977:26). Britain wanted to "encourage democracy and local initiative and to establish foundations for approaching self-government" which meant bringing the colonies in line with political, economic and social standards as established in Western Europe and North America (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:64).

Another element in this complex political process was the need for the western allied nations to repay war loans to the United States. These loans were paid off with raw materials from the colonies, such as rubber from Malaya and cocoa from Ghana. It was important to retain the colonies within the European economic sphere at least until the loans were cleared. There were also opportunities to make use of extensive technical aid from the United States, the largest concentrations of which were available to those countries threatened by communism especially Viet Nam, Thailand and

Laos (Mayo, 1975:132). The United States became massively involved in community development at this time. So also did the United Nations through various programs of national development planning. The United Nations defined community development as:

> ...the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic and social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate those communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (United Nations, 1956:14).

Although the use of community development originated in developing countries and largely in rural contexts, use of community development spread in the late 1950's to use in developed nations and urban contexts as well. Developed nations had recognized the existence of pockets of poverty and underdevelopment within their own boundaries. For example, community development was used as a theoretical basis for the massive American Poverty Program of the 1960's. It was also used by governments to deal with specific disadvantaged groups such as Indians in Canada. One example was the Manitoba Community Development Program which was initiated in 1959, and directed by Jean Lagassé (Manitoba:1956).

During this same period there was a rising demand for participation in the development process as a result of "the stresses and strains of urbanization and industrialization, the remoteness of government and its insensitivity to

regional and local needs and the general bureaucratization and depersonalization of society" (Lotz, 1977:30). The outcome of this desire by people to be involved in decisions that affected them was the incorporation of popular or citizen participation into the concept of community development. A United Nations Report in 1971 evidenced this transition. It was entitled *Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development*.

This report summarized the past and present activities of community development as a world-wide movement. It also discussed the problems experienced in the field of community development, which Jim Lotz summarized as follows:

> ...village uplift on a self-generated basis was a mythical concept, some sort of outside stimulus and help was always needed; community workers often came into conflict with elected politicians, who after all, were supposed to bring benefit to local people; individuals benefitted in the name of community development; unless there was social reform, democratic community development was not possible; the 'felt needs' of the powerful dominated community development programmes; projects were unrelated to regional and national plans; bureaucratization stifled the spirit of local initiative (Lotz, 1977:30).

Though many of these problems remain unresolved, community development currently continues to be used in both developed and developing nations; in rural and urban areas and in a multitude of contexts. Over the past thirty-five years community development has become an international movement.

Community Development in Canada

In Canada, since the late 1950's, a variety of programs to deal with poverty and the disadvantaged have been undertaken by government and private organizations. Various departments of the Federal Government have been involved. In the mid 1960's the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development initiated a community development program that provided community development workers for Indians on reserves in Southern Canada and for native groups in Northern Canada as well as programs to train Indian community development workers. The Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration (A.R.D.A.) was established in 1961 to assist the rural poor, largely through the infusion of technology. The Department of Regional and Economic Expansion (D.R.E.E.) offered incentive programs to strengthen and stimulate the economic base of disadvantaged communities and regions. NewStart projects, akin to the American War On Poverty Program, were undertaken in six Canadian provinces through funds provided by the Federal Government.

The Company of Young Canadians (C.Y.C.), established as a crown corporation in 1966, as a way for youth to do volunteer work in worthwhile projects, incorporated community development into its theoretical approach. In the 1970's, the Secretary of State and later the Department of Manpower and Immigration began to offer grants to groups of

unemployed youth and adults to enable them to participate in the economy through such programs as Opportunities for Youth (O.F.Y.), Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.), Local Employment Assistance Program (L.E.A.P.), and the Community Employment Strategy (C.E.S.).

Provincial governments became involved in community development through joint federal-provincial initiatives, for example, NewStart, or through establishing their own community development programs. Manitoba was the first province with a formalized program, followed by Ontario. Alberta established a community development program for Indians and Metis in 1964. (Lotz, 1977:45) The Government of the Northwest Territories implemented a local government program using a community development approach in 1967.

Private organizations, for example, the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) utilized a community development approach in their work with inner city groups in major urban areas such as Montreal and Toronto. Native organizations began to take over their own community programs from the government. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood did so in 1969, followed by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians in 1970 and other Indian organizations across the country including the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories in 1974. (Lotz, 1977:46)

The application of community development in Canada has experienced problems and has also received criticism.

Included in the problems were questions over jurisdiction both between the federal and provincial levels of government and amongst various departments. But there were a variety of more serious criticisms. Many of the Canadian community development programs and approaches involved the transfer of massive amounts of monies. In the name of creating independence, dependencies were often created for individuals and organizations, and in the process the government gained control over them (Lotz, 1977:37,53). Community development approaches in Canada were seen as largely dealing with symptoms, not problems (Lotz, 1977:41). One example was the job creation programs of O.F.Y. and L.I.P. which served to mask unemployment rather then confront it. Jim Lotz described it this way:

> Community development during the decade (1960's to 1970's), when sponsored or supported by government, seldom confronted the political realities at the national, provincial and local levels (Lotz, 1977:37).

By 1975, most of the Canadian programs and approaches outlined above had either disappeared altogether or their orientations had been changed.

It is within this Canadian context that community development was applied in the Northwest Territories. In fact, many of the programs outlined above were implemented in the Territories as national programs of the Federal Government of Canada. Like the general Canadian pattern whereby most community development programs had disappeared

or changed by 1975, so was the pattern of application in the Northwest Territories. This pattern will be examined in detail in Chapter Five.

## Definition of Community Development

As has been demonstrated by the above discussion, the concept of community development has as wide a range of uses as there are differing contexts of application. There are many definitions of community development; none of which is universally accepted. Community development has been variously defined as a movement, a process, a method, a program. The community of application ranges from organized groups to neighborhoods to national programs. The political component ranges from ultra-conservative to radical (Alinsky, 1972; Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Daly, 1970; Mayo, 1975; Newfield, 1966; Ross, 1967).

It is not useful within the context of this study to outline this myriad of definitions or to try to rectify this conceptual confusion (*vide* Whitford, 1967:3). Rather I will propose a definition of community development based on the traditional literature of the field that formed much of the theoretical basis for my work in the Northwest Territories. This is appropriate as it was the basis of my experience; it is also appropriate as it was from such traditional definitions of community development that most programs in the Northwest Territories with community development

approaches were developed.

The United Nations definition and that of du Sautoy as stated earlier were formative as were those of Batten, Biddle and Biddle, di Franco, and Dunham. There are a number of basic tenets that are found in these definitions which have been accepted as principles of traditional community development. By integrating these principles we may define community development as:

> an educational and motivational process enacted at the community level (on a community basis) to encourage people to solve their own problems (self-help) as they define them (felt needs) based on the fullest participation of local people in the decision making process (citizen participation) through a heightening of community involvement (social animation) and the building up of local leadership (leadership training) in order to organize for action (action for social change) to take more control over their lives (self-reliance and self-determination). Resources and technical aid from outside the community, including government, may be called in when necessary.

It is recognized that even though there may have been general agreement on such a definition, as indicated by prevalent use in the Territories at the time, in practice it meant different things to different people. It is nevertheless this definition and implied model of development which will be used in the following discussion. In view of the later material presented from interviews with interveners, it is worthwhile to point out that this definition does include the notion of people taking control of their own lives.

## Critique of Community Development as a Model of Development

The following critique of community development attempts to find explanations at a theoretical and general level for difficulties encountered in its application. Insights gained from this critique will be applied to the assessment of the usage of community development in the Northwest Territories in Chapter Five. Community development is criticized herein as a model of human development and social change. These criticisms are derived from the literature of the fields of community development and development in general and from a logical analysis of community development as a theory.

Recognition of the origins and application of community development provides a basis for criticism of the concept. Community development grew out of specific economic and political relations of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism (*supra*, p. 17), (Belshaw, 1976:206). As an integrated system colonialism, imperialism and capitalism have created certain realities, one of which is uneven development.

> Capitalism creates uneven development. Since the dawn of capitalist primitive accumulation to modern imperialist monopoly capitalism and the internationalization of capital and labour, this unequal development has been a historical law. Capitalism is nourished by imperialism (Quimby, 1980:56).

The reality of uneven development for most of the Third World and sectors within the so-called developed world has

been underdevelopment. "Underdevelopment is a historical by-product of development" (Goulet, 1973:38). Community development originated in response to this underdevelopment of people located in so-called Third World countries and pockets within developed nations (*supra*, p. 19). However, if the problems of people are linked to the totality of the political and economic system, then it follows that this total system must be modified to eradicate the problems of underdevelopment.

Community development has been criticized as a theory for representing an unchallenging view of basic economic and political structures and exploitive relationships derived from asymmetries of power (Mayo, 1975:132). Community development is based on a gradual and evolutionary theory of social change. The over-all political and economic relationships of society are not assumed to be problematic, therefore a major restructuring is not required. Rather, what are required are minor reforms to involve the people more in the governing process and to provide more access to government. Reforms to the economic sphere are to be achieved through technological and attitudinal change. The works of many political ideologues, theoreticians and practioners contradict this analysis and view. (*vide* Marx, 1845; Baran and Sweezy, 1966; Goulet, 1973; and the liberation movements of, for example, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau.)

As a srategy of development, community development states that the way for people to gain control over their lives is though a community level process of self-help, as opposed to a process requiring fundamental changes to societal-level political or economic structures. The assumption is that what is required is the infusion of technical assistance or money at the community level (Lotz, 1977:36), accompanied by a motivational process to solve the problems of underdevelopment. The broad political and economic realities are not recognized, such as the relationship of those having power to those who are powerless, or the relationship of the developed countries to the developing. Inherent economic exploitation or the powerful market forces that preclude the ability of people to be locally self-sufficient are also not recognized (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:184).

Grounded in the Western development paradigm (*infra*, p. 44) the community development process is criticized for becoming part of the imposition of the institutions of the controlling dominant society on those peoples viewed to be "underdeveloped". Such institutional imposition was examplified by the exportation of the British local government system to the British colonies in the 1950's. Often called cross-cultural development, this institutional imposition serves to further entrench the political and economic relationships to which underdevelopment may be

linked. The cross-cultural institutional imposition may carry with it racist based ideas of superiority over lessor developed peoples of another race.

Through not viewing political and economic structures as problematic, community development has emerged as a general process applicable to a multitude of contexts and situations. It has been regarded as a universal panacea (Lotz, 1977:16). The same process is implied for use in, for example, Nigeria and the Northwest Territories of Canada, as well as in farming co-operatives and middle class women's groups. The community development process may be qualified in terms of adaptations to the 'local culture', but it is rarely qualified in terms of the particular political and economic structural realities of each particular context.

One result of this universality is that the community development model does not demand clear analyses of the political economies in which development is to be achieved. Instead, the theory of community development assumes and propagates the concept that all members of a community population can and do share a common interest: "We are one big happy family."[3] Rothman states this position as:

> ...the interests of various groups and factions in the community are seen as basically reconcilable and responsive to the influences of rationale, persuasion, communication and mutual good will (Rothman, 1972:28).

This assumption serves to mystify or intentionally obfuscate the difference of interests within a group, community or

population. It does not recognize the relatively well-established Marxist concept of class conflict (antagonism) or the Weberian notion of status conflict (Collins, 1975: Coser, 1956) or the recently defined concept of institutional class struggle as suggested by Gerard Mendel (Mendel, 1972). To be consistent with its own assumptions, community development could only function in a classless society where wealth and power were equally distributed.

Community development, in its lack of analysis of political and economic structures, is criticized for failing to address the roots of problems that prevent people at a local level from achieving significant social change. The problems may be structurally based and outside the parameters of individual community change. Participation, specifically at a community level is emphasized (Cary, 1973; Compton, 1971: Dunham, 1970). "By participation they mean that the decisions which affect people immediately or remotely should be shaped by them" (United Nations, 1971:59).

Community development is criticized for presuming that individual communities could have a strong influence on decisions made by much removed governments or corporate interests. If community development work restricts itself to making only those decisions that can be made at a community level it will be confined to the realm of minor

modification. This criticism is exemplified in the following quotations:

> The locality orientation of community development and the reliance on primary groups, face-to-face co-operation, is regarded by some critics as anachronistic since most problems are not amenable to solutions at this level (Kramer, 1969:n.p.).

> Many factors which vitally influence the future development of local communities are beyond reach and can hardly be influenced by an individual community's actions (United Nations, 1975:56).

> Local community issues are probably the easist to incorporate anyway; the groups can be isolated and ignored by the very fact of their local base and their consequent lack of wider, less fragmented support. Or their demands can be met by shifting the problem elsewhere... Community action can so easily become devisive... where the authorities can play off one group against another (Mayo, 1975:140).

Based on its unchallenging view of basic political and economic relations and structures of society, community development emphasizes that the process should work through existing institutions and leadership and encourages leadership development training (Biddle and Biddle, 1965: Cary, 1973; du Sautoy, 1970; United Nations, 1971). The result often is entrenchment of an existing power base as indicated by the following:

> Traditional local leadership are relatively privileged members of a community's socio-economic structure. As a rule these local leaders generally have a higher level of education as well as natural positions that enable them to act as brokers with agencies outside the community (United Nations, 1975:46).

> If community development is put in the hands of local leaders it simply strengthens their position (Belshaw, 1976:163).[1]

Working through existing institutions implies the utilization of government and voluntary agencies (Dunham, 1970).[2] However, the strength of interest of those institutions may over-ride those of community groups. The economic/political/social reality of those seeking development may in fact be structurally related to the power held by such institutions.

As a strategy of social change, community development attempts to motivate people to act together on their self-defined problems, usually through taking on a low risk (of failure) project with specific, realizable objectives. The assumption is that the problem stems from a lack of skills and motivation on the part of "those to be helped" and that the solution is the provision of skills, technology, and motivation through community development. Success from this first co-operative venture is theoretically supposed to lead people to unify, to contest and win issues and solve problems of a larger and larger nature. Cumulatively over time they should gain greater ability to have control over decisions affecting their lives, thereby creating social change.

As a result, most community development projects are extremely particularistic in focus, usually having singular aims (for example, to establish a fishing co-operative, to provide better sanitation). Projects have been criticized for lacking an analysis that could connect that specific

situation to broader issues or structurally based inequities. Projects are most often entirely unrelated to other projects or programs, whether in the same community, area, region or not. There appears to be little cross-fertilization that could result in alliances necessary to create a movement toward broader based social change. The United Nations describes the problem as follows:

> It has been a generally accepted principle in community development that community participation should initially be promoted around a concrete project, (usually in the form of self-help construction etc.); this risks encouraging only episodic participation and of the (project) becoming an end in itself (United Nations, 1975:36).

The consequences of not addressing political and economic structures and the inadequacy of basic reforms may mean that the benefits of development are restricted to a relatively small number of the population (United Nations, 1974:3). Self-defined problems are labelled "felt needs" in community development practice and are seen to be the basis of community development process (Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Dunham, 1971; and United Nations, 1971). However, the "felt needs" often become those of the strongest, most articulate interests of the community.

For example, in North America, community development has been criticized for being a more effective weapon for middle-class consumer and amenity groups than for most working class community organizations. The former groups have greater access to and facility in using the media and

other pressure group tactics (Mayo, 1975:140). Community development is criticized for centering around issues of consumption (for example, to obtain more rent control, to improve housing) as opposed to issues of production (for example, to deal with exploitation in relations of production). Emphasis on issues of consumption serves to incorporate the usage of community development into the existing economic and political relations of capitalism and imperialism.

The manner in which community development has been applied has also been criticized. "Community development was seen as a safe ideologically neutral way of keeping people from making legitimate demands for changes in the power structure" (Lotz, 1977:36). The response of governments of the Western World to increasing demands in the 1960's and 1970's for services, programs and popular participation was "to regulate contemporary capitalism by intervening into more and more areas of the economy and also more deeply into an increasing number and range of ideological institutions" (Mayo, 1975:137). Community development was offered as an antidote to try to make people feel they somehow shared in the process. Community development programs were also "presented as antidotes to poverty, deprivation and disorganization" (Lotz, 1977:64). Community development served to reduce or modify contradictions that might otherwise have led to more direct confrontation with the

political and economic status quo.

There is clearly the possibility that community development can be utilized as a tool by those in power to avert potential opposition through encouraging participation in a process they control. "A strategy of popular participation may be favored by elected leaders and representatives because it offers the least possible risk to them" and "where differences become acute, governments at times are not loath to stifle or manipulate popular participation, rather than to seek an accommodation with it" (United Nations, 1975:60,62). Community development has been used as a way to buy time by those in power, rather than as a way to encourage self-reliance which is the stated goal (Lotz, 1977:43). The following describes how community development was used by the Canadian government through the creation of the Company of Young Canadians (C.Y.C.) to deflect the political dissidence of Canadian youth in the 1960's.

> This refusal (of native activists to accommodate white bouregeois society) apparent enough to the state, prompted strategies of containment and co-option--a process already underway with the establishment of the C.Y.C. Particularly through the promotion of "community development" the state's manipulation of the burgeoning political restlessness of youth was extended into black and native protest groups. As it turned out, community development was a mechanism by which the potentially explosive frustration and impatience of the increasingly self-conscious dispossessed community were redirected into short-term goals, interfactional disputes and the launching of careers in the civil service (Kostash, 1980:159).

From the above it would appear that community development is not a neutral vehicle for development. The term originated in the same context of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism to which underdevelopment has been linked. Opposed to contesting the bases of power and political and economic structures and relationships, community development is seen as serving the interests of these political and economic structures and co-opting and containing efforts for substantive change.

> The national and international political implications of community development must be explicitly recognized if any effective challenge is to be offered to the way in which government and international bodies have used community development for their own end, predominantly amongst the poor, both in developed and developing parts of the world (Mayo, 1975,141).

To summarize, community development has been criticized in regard to the following: origin, theoretical and analytical basis, strategy for social change, and the interests served by its application. The origins of community development in a context of colonialism, imperialism and the economic relations of capitalism have been identified. The theoretical and analytical basis of community development which does not address the system of political and economic structures and power relationships has been criticized. Criticism of the interests served by the community development process has been made, including charges of co-optation and containment. Community development has been criticized for implying that it is able

to significantly increase the control which people have over their lives, when it in fact cannot. In terms of strategy it has been criticized for focusing on the community level and on particularistic endeavours which are not connected to or seen to be part of an ongoing struggle to regain political power or to create structural change. Other theories (*vide* Marx, 1845; Weber, 1922; Goulet, 1973) would suggest that it is a mystification of political realities (essentially of the dichotomy of who has real power and influence and who does not) to convince people that all share the same interest; to indicate that through a combination of technical aid and motivation without contesting these basic structures of power they can gain control over the decisions that affect their lives. Marjorie Mayo states that:

> ...if radical social change is the prime objective, community development is not a specially favourable starting point at all. ...In spite of all manner of pockets of radicalism, the verdict on the achievement of community action in the U.S. so far seems to be that it did not offer any wide-spread or over-all change to the established interests of power and influence. As a whole it has been incorporated by the status quo. "So far from challenging established power," Marris and Rein (1971) concluded that "community action turned out to be merely another instrument of social service, essentially patronizing and conservative." (Mayo, 1975:139).

In total, the criticisms lodged against community development suggests that as a model of development it is based on an inaccurate analysis of the political and economic structural relationships in which it operates, and therefore is not likely to result in significant development

or social change. If these criticisms of community development are found to be accurate then the role for interveners working as community development workers in this model must be a tension-filled and contradictory one, at both a psychological and personal level. As the focus of this study is on the role of the intervener engaged in development work, a critique of the role and "view of self" of a community development worker is essential.

## Critique of the Role of Intervener Implicit in the Community Development Model

Implicit in the model of community development postulated (*supra*, p. 25) is a particular view of the community development worker. This view of the role of community development workers is derived from the theoretical analysis of the causes of underdevelopment on which community development is based. This analysis suggests that development and the ability of people to control their own lives does not require a major restructuring of political and economic structures. Rather, the analysis suggests that what is required is an educational, motivational process in combination with technical aid and resources, therefore the role of a community development worker is seen to be within this context and is derived from the practice of social work and mass education (*supra*, p. 17).

As the field of social work had a major influence on the origins of the practice of community development, the assumption is that the community development worker is a facilitator of the process and as such has no personal interest in what is transpiring or in the outcome (other than in terms of positive completion of job tasks). Subsequently, the worker has no personal rights in the process (that is, is totally subject to the goals of the target population or conversely the employer). There appears to be little recognition of self-interest; the worker takes on the interests either of the employer or of the target group (both of which have differing ramifications).

Talcott Parsons hypothesized the notion of social control by institutions through the encouragement of the belief by practitioners that they have no personal interest, thus are "objective professionals" (facilitators) of the development process of "clients" (Parsons, 1954). Proliferation of this professionalization of the so-called "helping relationship" effectively removes these "professionals" from the arena of struggle. It prevents any critical analysis of what their self-interest is in relating as a professional helper, or what their relationship is to the issues in which they get involved through the "client group" with whom they work. In cross-cultural situations it also means that unwittingly interveners often become purveyors of the imposition of the institutions of the

nation or society by which they are employed over the institutions of those people they are "to develop." Suggesting that community development workers have no self-interest in the development process increases the mystification of what and whose interests really are being served. The concept of facilitator also serves to mystify the basis of power within the relationship with community groups by placing community development workers outside the arena of power.

Connected to the assertion that community development workers have no personal or self-interest in the developmental process is the principle that they should be working themselves out of a job. This principle reaffirms that community development workers have no legitimate stake in the issues of the community group with whom they work. This serves to reduce the likelihood of community development workers and community groups discovering potential connections between their positions in society, for example, exploitation derived from the same source. This principle also serves to minimize the identification of the implications of the involvement of community development workers in issues of community people, for example, in regard to community development workers discovering sources of their own oppression or their oppressive relationships to others.

Derived from this social work background and analytical basis, there is adherence to the assumption that the community development worker should remain on the sidelines or be a-political (Biddle and Biddle, 1965).[5] The plight of those the community development worker is involved with is accepted as their own (for example, the "native issue") with little analysis that links that specific issue to broader, fundamental concerns and contradictions that could include the community development worker. Cyril Belshaw comments on the role of community development workers (action agents) suggesting that:

> ...it is nonsense to assert, as have some commentators, that community development must be free of politics. It cannot be ... (they) are explicitly political actions ...
>
> .....
>
> An action agent, whether paid by the people or not, whether working in close co-operation with them or not, must still decide where in the political order of things his conceptions, his influences and his authority fit (Belshaw, 1976:169, 237).

A further expression of the denial of self-interest by the community development worker is the view of the development process as one directional. That is, the process does not emphasize mutual development rather it emphasizes the development of the community group. There is then, no recognition of the need or the right of the development workers to development on their own behalf.[6] The assumption is that community development workers have no reason to create change which benefits themselves as they are generally from outside the situation and not disadvantaged

(that is, not from the same class as those "to be helped"). They are merely the facilitators, helpers or supporters of the need of others for change. The process is not, in most circumstances, a mutual *conscientização* process as advocated by Paulo Freire (Freire, 1972:67).[7]

Finally, just as community development as a model does not examine the structural bases of inequities, neither does it encourage the community development worker to understand the dynamics or implications of their role in relationship to those with whom they work.[8] Examples of unanalyzed components of the relationship may be asymmetries of power and questions of exploitation and manipulation. If the definition of development includes dealing with exploitation in order to reduce the inequities of power between groups or classes or people, then it is contradictory to refer to the process as developmental if inequities of power and exploitation with the relationship are not addressed.

Further, working on one's own with a community group is the accepted pattern for the majority of community development workers. This makes it difficult to recognize and deal with relationships of unequal power, exploitation and manipulation. When there is just one community development worker relating to a community group it is likely that attempts to deal with such concerns would become too personalized. It becomes almost impossible to discern if difficulties that arise in the relationship are attributable

to differences of class, race, sex or just personality differences.

The ultimate expression of working on one's own has been in North America from the mid-1960's on where there seems to have been an informal undercurrent allowing, even encouraging, individual community development workers to "do their own thing" in groups and communities (postulated as a spin-off of the intense individualism of the "me" generation; Hamilton, 1970). The result has been an unwillingness amongst community development practitioners to challenge and criticize each other or to work toward an in-depth analysis of the realities and potential for social change and what an appropriate broad-based strategy might be.

These criticisms of the role of the community development worker pertain to the view of self and may explain some of the source of role conflict experienced by workers in this role. The resultant problems are compounded by the tensions and contradictions inherent in the community development model. The critiques of community development as a model of development, and of the role of interveners implicit in this model, form the theoretical basis for the examination of the application of community development in the Northwest Territories. Before proceeding with this examination, the criticisms made at a theoretical level will be used to outline an alternative model of development and

an alternative role for interveners. This alternative model and role may provide further insights into the examination of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories and the experiences of interveners there.

## Toward an Alternative Model and Role

The critique of community development suggests the need for an alternative model of development, a model that deals directly with the criticism made of community development. Development, like growth, is an on-going process; therefore it is not necessary to know the specifics of the end product. However, it is possible to identify factors which must be considered and which should be avoided in the process of development.

Development must not be defined, as it is in the dominant Western development paradigm (*vide* Rostow, 1960) of which community development is a part, solely in terms of assistance to disadvantaged peoples to become aware of and use Western organizational and technological skills. Development must recognize the centrality of power as a determinant in the process of development. The notion of development in the liberation paradigm, represented in the works of Gutierrez, Cabral, Freire, Goulet, emphasizes that the relationship of power is the central cause of underdevelopment.[9] The liberation paradigm therefore

recognizes the need for a transformation of political and economic relations and structures created by class domination under capitalism and extended internationally through colonialism and imperialism.

In the liberation paradigm, structurally determined exploitation and discrimination must be eliminated in order to alleviate the inequities and dependencies created between poor and rich, between developing and developed regions and nations, between workers and owners of production. Equal opportunities and a more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth can only be envisaged through a development process that challenges asymmetries of power, works toward a redistribution of power and avoids the imposition of institutions of domination. Gustavo Gutierrez, a major spokesperson for the theology of liberation, stated that standard definitions of development do not get to the roots of the problem. They do not evoke understanding of the asymmetrical power relations operative in the world or the inability of evolutionary change models to lead, in many countries, to the desired objective (in Goulet, 1973). The liberation paradigm originates in the struggles for liberation of developing countries, especially those in Latin and South America and Africa. Examples of the application of this paradigm include Mozambique, Nicaraugua and on-going liberaton struggles in Angola, Columbia, Peru, El Salvador, etc.

Changing relations of power demands a pervasive strategy based on a clear analysis specific to each political/economic context. Analysis must include the history, the bases of power, the forces at play, a clear delineation of whose interests are being served by what and the potential for change among various components (classes) of the population. This does not mean that development should be confined to "grand political schemes." Development starts with individuals working to overcome whatever oppression they feel most directly in relationships or through structures. However, the process must allow the emergence of an analytical framework whereby specific issues in particular locales can be linked to the structural roots of problems. Through work on issues effective alliances must be made amongst individuals and organizations who share similar interests. The development process must effect the creation of a broad based movement for change linked into a comprehensive strategy.

Both the outcome and the way in which the change process occurs should be viewed as of equal importance. Efforts must be made to oppose the entrenchment of old elites or the creation of new exploitative relationships in the process of development.

> For liberationists, success is not measured simply by the quantity of benefits gained, but above all by the way in which change processes take place. The decisive test of success is that, in obtaining benefits, a society will have fostered greater popular autonomy in a nonelitist mode, social

> creativity instead of imitation, and control over forces of change instead of mere adjustment to them (Goulet, 1973:xvii).

Through the process of development people must increase their ability to critically reflect on their situation and to consciously act to change it in concert with others. Through the transformation of society people themselves will be changed and will develop.

A different role for interveners is necessarily implied by an alternative model of development.[10] Such a role must recognize interveners as equal partners with groups with whom they choose to work in a mutual process of development. Both parties must analyze their own positions and interests and determine that they share a common interest. Development must be viewed as a process of growing and changing relationships for both interveners and those with whom they work. It follows from this that not only will the population be transformed with the society but so also will the intervener.

Development, then, must be an interplay between the societal (structural) level and the personal level. This means focusing on the relationship between interveners and those groups with whom they work as well as societal issues. An integral part of the development process should be the identification and amelioration of contradictions, tensions and asymmetries of power amongst all of the people. This includes, of course, the community development worker or intervener in relationship to the community. Uncovering and

dealing with the bases of such power differentials must be recognized as important.

The emerging concept of solidarity work, as differentiated from support work (*c.f.* Sinclair, 1979), deals with many of these concerns about role. Support work suggests that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the system that causes the injustice. Rather, it assumes that the system is functional except for the particular problem of the people "needing help" (Sinclair, 1979:2). Support work implies helping other people in the context of "their" issues. Support work assumes that the situation of the helpers or facilitators in society, is without exploitation or oppression, therefore, the facilitators have no need for, or interest in, development in their own name. In the theoretical analysis above, this has been discussed as the position of community development.

In contrast, the concept of solidarity work implies that interveners are also in a struggle to make changes to their own situation and to change themselves. Solidarity work demands that interveners, in consort with those community people with whom they chose to work, jointly seek to understand the structural barriers to self-determination. Solidarity work recognizes development as a mutual process between interveners and those groups with whom they choose to work. Solidarity work is a collaberative process of shared interest in issues within the context of an on-going

struggle.

To summarize, an alternative model of development implies that the population must challenge the asymmetries of power that result in inequities, exploitation and the creation of dependencies. In practice, this means the transformation of political and economic structures created by class domination under capitalism and imperialism. An alternative role for interveners must recognize interveners and those community people with whom they chose to work to be equal partners in a mutual process of struggling to make changes in society that will be of benefit to both. In so doing, the inequities of power within this relationship must be recognized and dealt with. The notion of development implicit in the liberation literature and the emerging concept of solidarity work are attempts to incorporate these views.

In this chapter I have reviewed the history of the origin and application of community development and the post World War II political and economic context in which it flourished. Derived from the traditional literature of the field, I outlined a composite definition of community development that was popular in the Northwest Territories and represented the basis from which I worked. Criticisms at a theoretical level were presented of community development as a model of development and of the implicit role for

interveners. The considerations necessary in an alternative model of development and role for interveners to deal with these criticisms were outlined.

It is apparent from the critical discussion of this alternative model that one requirement is an understanding of the specific political economy of the context in which development is being undertaken. In the following chapter, background information will be provided on the history of the Northwest Territories, development programs and events of the decade of the 1970's. In Chapter Four, this background information will be incorporated into an analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories. This analysis will provide the basis for a critical assessment of the application of community development in this specific context in Chapter Five. The criticisms of community development as a model of development outlined above will also be used in this critical assessment to determine whether the community development model can adequately deal with the political, economic and social realities of the Territories and experiences of interveners there-in.

Secondly, from the information presented in this chapter, it is clear that significantly different roles for interveners are implied by different models. Chapter Three will present the experiences of interveners who worked in the Northwest Territories within the community development model. The criticisms regarding role raised in this chapter

will be employed in a critical assessment of the role of interveners in the Northwest Territories. The views raised by the alternative model of development and role for interveners will be applied to the data on the Northwest Territories and the experiences of interveners there to see what additional insights can be gained into the concern over role and role-conflict of interveners in the Northwest Territories.

## Footnotes to Chapter I

1. This concept of leadership fits within a certain ideological set, and other ideologies (except the western-based one from which community development grew) have dealt with the question of leadership differently. For example, in China local officials and administrators are trained to be aware of any tendency they may have to be domineering or paternalistic and to make efforts to correct such behaviour so as to accommodate and encourage popular participation; or to structure local decision-making institutions to militate against excessive dominance by local officials (United Nations, 1975:48).

2. Dunham's principles are based on the works of T.R. Batten, W. Cousins, Joseph di Franco, George Foster, India's C.D. program, Margaret Mead, National Society for the Study of Education, Murray Ross, U.N., International Co-operation Administration, 1960 (vide Dunham, 1970).

3. This concept can be traced to the origins of community development, for example:

> For them (Biddle and Biddle, 1965) the objectives are found in Judaeo-Christian teachings as it emerges in the democratic tradition ... the concept of political democracy being itself an outgrowth of the Judaeo-Christian belief in men and women as the children of God ... or again, "Community action that involves conflict against someone limits the spreading inclusiveness of the community ... The all-inclusive community calls for a multiple approach (i.e., concensus-cooperation). The two-way devision (i.e., conflict) is more reminiscient of the Marxian class struggle than of the reality of American pluralism" (Biddle and Biddle) ... By this time the non-radical (i.e., the reactionary and repressive) aspects of community development should be sufficiently obvious (Mayo, 1975:137).

4. In community development theory, a distinction is made between single-issue organizing and a generalist approach where development is open-ended. However, in most community development practice the single-issue approach dominates, that is, a community development worker will address housing needs, or agricultural needs or work with the issue of one particular organization.

5. The following quotation demonstrates the assumption that community development workers should remain a-political:

> "...whereas the community development worker should not be or should never become a destroyer of the social order. By using or endorsing the idea of revolution, he can find himself disqualified to act as a mediator between factions in controversy" (Biddle and Biddle, 1965, quoted in Mayo, 1975:137).

6. Developemnt is not being used in this context to connote personal self-realization as represented in recent decades in movements such as Gestalt psychology. Rather, it implies that the community development worker may also face structurally based exploitation or lack control over her/his own labour, environment or major decisions that affect her/his life.

7. The term *conscientização* refers to learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 1972:19).

8. For expediency and ease of reading, it would make sense to find a term to describe the group of people in the community with which the intervener works. However, an ideologically neutral term could not be found. Terms such as 'target group' or 'client group' carry connotations which I found unacceptable and did not want incorporated into the discussion in this thesis. Therefore, I ask for the reader's appreciation of the use of phraseology which may be cumbersome.

9. Works representative of the liberation paradigm have been outlined in the footnotes to the Introduction (*supra* p. 14).

10. In the concept of solidarity work the term intervener may no longer be useful as it connotes non-negotiated interference. It will be necessary to create another term. However, to save confusion in the text of this thesis, intervener will continue to be used.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, THE 1970'S

This chapter presents a historical and descriptive account of the Northwest Territories as this is the particular context in which the role of interveners in development is being explored. The information presented will also serve as the data base for an analysis in a later chapter of the political economy of the Territories. The alternative model of development to community development demands a critical analysis of the particular political and economic context and the relationship of power. Such an analysis will be provided in Chapter Four to see if further explanations for the role conflict experienced by interveners can be ascertained through a reinterpretation of the data presented in this chapter.

### History

Prior to the coming of Europeans, the Dene and Inuit lived in the North of what is now Canada. Leading a hunter-gatherer life they adapted to specific environs from which grew cultures that accommodated the "country, climate,

and animals of their time and place" (Crowe, 1974:7). The Dene lived ostensibly south of the tree-line and the Inuit north of it. They lived in small nomadic bands and travelled and named the land. Both developed their own languages and dialects, their own values, customs and laws, organized functional economies, social systems, their own governments and their own religious beliefs. Each had their own understanding of the world influenced greatly by their hunting life which "made for a certain way of looking at the world and other people ... a way which is still strong today" (Crowe, 1974:38). Prior to the arrival of outsiders there were possibly 50,000 people (including the northern parts of the prairie provinces) of which 22,000 were Inuit, slightly more than at present (Crowe, 1974:20,54).

## Colonial Intervention

Earliest consistent contact with outsiders came first to the Dene in the west with the fur-trade in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Contact was peaceful. In exchange for labour-saving goods such as axes, guns, pots, cloth, etc. the Dene traded pelts, meat and their knowledge of the land, from which the fur-trading companies amassed fortunes. Contact with the traders also brought new diseases to which native people had little resistance causing very high mortality rates.

Permanent trading posts were established and a dual economy developed whereby the traditional bush subsistence life-style was maintained along with a parallel economy of trapping furs for profit (Asch, 1979:22). Increased killing of wild-life resulted, which later proved to be much to the detriment of the Dene for it threatened their subsistence. The fur-trade continued to be the primary economic resource until after World War II when the bottom dropped out of the fur market. An unprecedented rise in prices of goods forced the Dene to return to subsistence living where possible and to seek cash resources wherever available (wage-work, transfer payments).

For the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic whaling preceded the fur-trade economy beginning in 1590. Whaling came two hundred years later to the Western Arctic but in the Central Arctic, as late as 1910 some Inuit had never seen Euro-Canadians. Intermingling and trading occurred around the whaling industry. As with the Dene, contact brought disease (by 1900 the population had been reduced by one-third, Crowe, 1974:108) and a drastic reduction in wild-life. In fifty years of western whaling thirty million dollars worth of whale products left the Arctic region, at the cost of the lives of almost all the native Inuit and much of the animal life of sea and land. Whaling ended in 1915 when technological advances replaced whale products, bringing difficult times to the Inuit who had become

dependent on the trade.

The gap left by the whalers was filled by fur-traders. By 1923 trading posts were established close to the territories of all Inuit. Fur prices, especially for Arctic fox, increased greatly from 1920 to 1930. Profitable muskrat prices in the 1940's led to over-crowding in the MacKenzie Delta. By 1950 the fur-trade recession struck and the Inuit suffered as did the Dene.

Following the intervention of the fur-traders came the missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the fur-traders who wished to keep the natives nomadic and trapping, the missionaries sought settled congregations. Catholic and Anglican missionaries competed for converts down the MacKenzie valley and at a lesser pace throughout the whole arctic (Crowe, 1974:143), often splitting tribes and sometimes families. In the quest to help and to convert the natives they built hospitals, old folks homes, boarding schools, and studied and recorded native languages. The struggle of the religious institutions for power served to further colonize the Dene and Inuit.

## Colonial Administration

The political unit which encompasses most of the Dene and Inuit in Canada is the Northwest Territories. It was established by an Act of Parliament in 1869 and was formed primarily of lands purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company.

In most cases the fur-trade companies had assumed ownership of the land without negotiation with the native inhabitants. The current Northwest Territories boundaries were established in 1912 a few years after the Yukon, Alberta and Saskatchewan had become separate entities, and the boundaries of Manitoba and Quebec had been extended north.

From a colonial administrative perspective the Northwest Territories was a remnant political entity, a frontier with neither the population nor the economic potential to merit large scale intervention (Rea, 1968:18). Concern over the Yukon gold rush prompted the signing of Treaty Number 8 in 1898 and the discovery of oil at Norman Wells in 1920 prompted the signing of Treaty Number 11. However, although reserves were written into these treaties, they were never set aside and the Dene were never confined to them, likely because there was no agricultural land in demand by settlers. During this period, the Royal Northwest Mounted Police acted as the representative of the Canadian Government in the North.

In the 1930's gold was discovered at Yellowknife, pitchblende and uranium at Port Radium and in the 1950's, zinc at Pine Point, nickel at Rankin Inlet and tungsten at Tungsten. The majority of the labour force for these developments was imported from southern Canada. Except in Rankin Inlet, native people were not even viewed as surplus labour, a pattern that continues into the present. During

this period almost all economic development was left by the Canadian Government to private companies, with the exception of uranium, which was deemed a substance to be controlled "in the national interest." Medical, welfare and educational needs were met by religious institutions with only minimal grants from the government. It was a period of governmental laissez-faire in the Northwest Territories.

> Although the government had taken some measures to protect wildlife the approach however, was that of 'father knows best.' No real effort was made to give the northern natives control of their lives and almost all programs were in the hands of the 'Big Three,' the missions, Hudson Bay Company and RCMP, each of whom had its own separate purpose for being in the north (Crowe, 1974:153).

The Second World War brought yet another wave of outsiders through military intervention. The Americans built the Canol project and established bases in the Mackenzie District and the Eastern Arctic. The Cold War led to the construction of Distant Early Warning (D.E.W.) Line Sites in 1955, to which nearby Inuit gravitated for employment. Once the sites were constructed and only very highly trained technicians were needed to run them, Inuit were turned back to reliance on the land. But other changes were more permanent and far-reaching. World War II had drawn attention to the North and it could not return to an earlier stage.

## State Intervention

Post-war interest in the North and massive intervention by the Canadian government was stimulated by the following

considerations (Crowe, 1974; Rea, 1968):

1. continued concern with defence, now against the Russians, and secondly the need to show Canadian sovereignty, both to the Russians and to the Americans.

2. the possibility of major economic benefits, essentially mineral wealth. The feasibility of large scale construction in the northern climate had been amply demonstrated by the military.

3. pressures from the burgeoning non-native population for services such as schools, hospitals, local government, and for political participation (residents of the Mackenzie District first received the federal vote in 1947, and first voted for some members of the Territorial Council in 1951. Status Indian residents were added to the federal electoral roles in 1953. Facilities for Inuit to vote in the Eastern Arctic were not available until 1962 (Crowe, 1974:201).

4. concern for the welfare of the native people as more people became aware of the destitution and cases of starvation created by the post-war decline of the fur-trade and diminishing sources of wild-life. This was during a time when the rights of depressed minorities were being asserted elsewhere in North America.

These considerations reflect the political economy of the Northwest Territories from which emerged the decisions to implement community development programs in the 1960's.

The Canadian government changed its policy from complete laissez-faire to massive intervention in the fields of welfare, health and education. By the 1960's, the government decided to intervene in the economy through the provision of public funds to develop infrastructure that would lead private resource development (for example, roads, airstrips, some municipal services, the Pine Point railway, dams to generate electricity). Federally supported welfare programs created during the war years, such as family

allowance, old age security, and social welfare became available to residents of the Northwest Territories. Nursing stations were established in most settlements and existing mission schools were taken over by the Federal Government. Based on the southern Canadian model, the objective of the education system was to prepare native people to fit into Canadian society in preparation for work in resource development and if such opportunities did not arise then to be able to move south (Crowe, 1974:197). In addition, economic development programs to create jobs were established, such as fishing and handicraft co-operatives.

Throughout the forties, Government activity and attention was centered in the Mackenzie District but after 1950 attention also turned eastward and the Inuit began to feel the intensity of contact with outsiders that the Dene had been experiencing. By 1956 there were northern service officers in all larger Inuit settlements. The work of these government employees paralleled that of the Indian agents who had begun to be present in many Dene communities since 1911.

Prior to 1966 the Northwest Territories was administered from Ottawa through one or another federal government department; departments which carried on the work of the current Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. A Territorial Council, fully appointed from 1922 to 1951 but gradually modified by electing more and

more members, had, after 1951, an advisory role to the various federal ministers and departments. In 1967, on the basis of recommendations by the Carrothers Commission, the Territorial Government and its administration moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife. The senior position of Commissioner (rather than premier and lieutenant-governor), remained appointed by the Federal Government and the federal minister retained the power to veto legislation passed by the Territorial Council. The Territorial civil service, however, expanded exponentially to take over education, economic development and other services, replacing both the church and the federal civil service.

As a result of the recommendations of the Carrothers Commission, emphasis was placed on the development of local government in the Northwest Territories.[1] The system chosen was modelled after municipal systems from southern Canada. Territorial civil servants, entitled settlement managers, worked in all Dene and Inuit settlements of any size to develop elected settlement councils to form the local level of government. Settlement councils were to receive increased municipal responsibilities over time. Communities would progress from settlement status, to hamlets, to villages as in southern Canada; the major difference was that government provided total municipal funding as there was no land-based tax collection. The result was the institutional imposition of a third level of government after the federal and

territorial.

## Impact of Colonization on the Native Peoples

This active extension of the institutions of southern Canada into the land of the Dene and Inuit had a major impact on their lives. In the words of the Dene:

> With the coming of the non-Dene came a period of colonization and cultural invasion that undermined the independence of the Dene. Systems of government, industry, education, foreign religious beliefs and practices that predominantly promoted authority, institutions, and subjugation began a polarizing of values of the Dene. Our people, values, cultures, laws, our systems of self-government were subjected to racist, paternalistic policies that were aimed at the cultural remaking of the Dene in the image of the colonizers (from the Dene Calendar, 1979).

The historical reality of the Northwest Territories is one of colonization which began with the exploitation of its fur and whale resources using cheap local labour for profit in the "home" country.

> For four centuries foreign people have encroached upon the ancient territories of Indians and Inuit, the uneven balance of powers reflected in written histories that ignore or undervalue the pre-European period, the native side of trade and exploration and the part played by individual men and women (Crowe, 1974:viii).

Colonization continues into the present where the "social, economic, political conditions of life are defined for a whole population by a minority different from the local majority in culture, history, belief, and often race" (Anderson, 1979:22).

Government, law, administration and boundaries divided up the north. Christian religious institutions dominated the spiritual sector of life. Native language gave way to English in areas of intense contact. Education of new generations was removed from native control. The results in education were only fair educationally and destructive socially in terms of culture, values and heritage (Crowe, 1974:198). Native youth were left unable to fit either into their own or the Euro-Canadian culture or economy.

Native people were drawn into settlements through the persuasion of government representatives and services (especially schools), and by churches and stores when survival from the land became difficult. The traditional native economy based on hunting-trapping had been commercialized and the ability to subsist on that commercial economy withdrawn with the collapse of fur prices; it was replaced to a large degree by government assistance. This changed poverty from a community responsibility into an individual matter. All this was done to the Dene and Inuit without their informed and active consent. The changes meant a loss of independence and self-reliance for most Inuit and Dene. Most facets of life became controlled by paternalistic institutions. Programs having major impact, such as the territorial housing scheme of 1966, were planned without consulting those affected. Powerlessness and dehumanization resulted in the growing incidence of social problems

including alcoholism, suicide and incidents of violence (Fumoleau, 1980:17). This was attested to in presentations before the Berger Inquiry (*c.f.* Blake, 1975:5-9).

Throughout the changes most Inuit and Dene did not lose their connections to the land even if they did not derive their total living from it. They continued to draw on the land for subsistence in a traditional way, supplemented with cash from government assistance. Though strained by the invasion of "outsiders," Dene and Inuit were for the most part, able to maintain the essence of traditional value structures, kinship patterns and social relations of production in the economy (Asch, 1979:9).

Into this particular historical context were placed development programs as part of the state's intervention. This historical context must be recognized in examining the application of community development in the Northwest Territories.

## Government Development Programs

Beginning with the post World War II government intervention, many programs labelled as "development" have been undertaken by various departments of both the Federal and Territorial Governments.

At the Federal level, beginning in the late 1950's and 1960's the Industrial Division of the Northern Administration Branch was responsible to stimulate community

development (of physical and municipal services, for example, schools, housing) and industrial growth (in order to diversify the economy as fur-prices dropped). Adult education programs were implemented to reduce the gap between adults and children who had been receiving schooling (Canada, 1961:157) with the intent of preparing people for employment in the changing economy (*supra*, p. 61). Simultaneously, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Immigration tried to develop sound trapping and commercial fishing practices for those still dependent on the utilization of renewable resources for their livelihood and to develop employment opportunities for others.

In the late 1960's, the stated responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs to assist Indians to participate fully in the social and economic life of Canada was to be met by specific programs in the fields of education, economic development, social welfare and community development. In 1968, programs aimed at encouraging citizen participation in the solutions of local government problems and the general management of community affairs were implemented (Canada, 1968). The Community Affairs Branch provided consultant service to the Community Development Program in training native people in community development through sensitivity training and other leadership training programs.[2]

Into the 1970's the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provided funding largely to programs of an economic development nature (for example to the Inuit Development Corporation, Co-operative Federation and individuals), and core-funding to bands and band training programs. The Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration provided funding on a national basis directly to community initiated projects (Opportunities for Youth, Local Initiatives Program, Local Employment Assistance Program) to develop employment through the creation of community services, businesses or training programs. The Secretary of State provided funding for native organizations (for example, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories), native friendship centers and native communications societies.

A Federal Crown Corporation, the Company of Young Canadians (C.Y.C.) was the only program which recognized community development as its primary task. Beginning in 1966 in the Northwest Territories there was a project of short duration in Inuvik followed by a more extensive project in the Great Slave Lake region from 1967 to 1974. The latter project consisted of a field-staff and a few volunteers, some from southern Canada, some local native people, who were to go into communities to work with ostensibly defined groups to create change.

> The main purpose of C.Y.C. is to assist individuals and communities in improving their situations and in

> tackling some of the problems of poverty, injustice and inequality which exist in their own communities and in the larger society ... The Company supports projects which will alleviate the causes of problems and not simply 'bandage' a symptom (Daly, 1970:48).

At the Territorial level, the Territorial Government began in 1967 to engage in community-level development through the Department of Local Government by "encouraging local councils and other locally-initiated agencies to promote genuine social, economic and political development in the north" (Canada, 1968:106). Settlement managers in the communities, and community development workers based in Yellowknife supported by regional development officers, were the developers in this process. In the Development Division special courses were established to instruct people in the techniques of local government. In the early 1970's workshops were held for settlement secretaries (of settlement councils) and Video Tape Recording (VTR) was used to animate dialogue between groups on community issues and between communities. In 1975 workshops were held exploring various community development models that might be applicable in the progressive stages of self-determination and growth. After the 1977 confrontation within the Department of Local Government (*Infra*, p. 72), the emphasis changed from the development of political awareness to the development of administrative capabilities. Training programs reflected this change, for example, the focus of workshops became accounting, organization and functioning of councils, planning and management of municipal functions and

services.

The Continuing Education Division of the Department of Education engaged in adult education programs. "Although the major concern is the improvement of basic literacy, other important programs include academic upgrading, life skills, basic job readiness training, and community development" (Canada, 1976:176). Programs included apprenticeship, vocational education, leadership training, home-management, courses on living in a changing environment and occupation skills required to participate in a wage earning economy. There were also programs to assist those who wished to live off the land by means of trapping, mineral identification and guiding (Canada, 1973:131).

The Territorial Department of Economic Development provided funding to develop community business ventures such as crafts, furniture building, retail stores and funding for co-operative development through the Canadian Arctic Co-operative Federation. In concert with Economic Development, the Department of Social Development ran the Subsidized Term Employment Program (S.T.E.P.) to employ persons in community projects who otherwise would be on social assistance. The Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, responsible for housing for most native people, instituted a program in the mid-1970's to develop local housing associations to handle local administration and maintenance.

After 1976-1977, the term community development seems to have gone out of favor in the Northwest Territories. It appeared in Territorial Government annual reports only within the adult education program in connection with leadership training and organizing community activities (Canada, 1975).

In the period prior to this change, it appears that the popularity of community development was as a term more than as an actual activity. Community development programs in the North at that time reflected a general trend:

> In Canada limited programs and projects involving community development have been operating for several years in disadvantaged regions in which live, for the most part, Indians, Metis, and Eskimos. The gradual realization that poverty and its associated evils have created formidable social problems, has resulted in the recent expansion of community development programs for these people (Lloyd, 1967:5).

Although some northern programs had community development aspects it was never formalized into a major program singularly focused on community development.

The composite definition of community development stated in Chapter One (*supra*, p. 25) could have been broadly applie to any of the programs in the Northwest Territories using community development as an approach. Activities in the Northwest Territories that have been called community development included the encouragement of citizen participation through the local administration of centrally designed government programs (local government settlement

councils, Northwest Territories Housing Co-operative), and the facilitation of the development of native people (Company of Young Canadians). Make work projects cum economic development intended to relieve unemployment or the welfare-rolls (Local Employment Assistance Program) and adult education programs intended to make native people part of the Canadian socio-economic system, thereby absorbing them into existing capitalist relations of production, are also included. All were on the instigation and control of "white" men (Lloyd, 1967:34). Such programs served ostensibly as a continuation of the extension of Euro-Canadian institutions into the Northwest Territories.

### The Decade of the Seventies

The colonial reality discussed above continues into the present. This is reflected in the growth and development of the state (both federal and territorial sectors) and the expansion of capitalism, especially natural resource exploration, into the Territories. The reaction of the native peoples to this reality may be described as a shift in consciousness or awareness, and the formation of native political organizations. Each of these elements of the seventies will be described in this section.

Domination by the State

The growth and bureaucratization of the Territorial Government and its dominance in the lives of northern natives has been a primary factor of the 1970's. Through government programs and policy, Dene and Inuit were encouraged/pushed toward assimilation into the institutions and economic relations of the dominant North American society. Although the native people remained a majority by population the Territorial Council has rarely reflected their interests; this was most blatantly evidenced by the Council's support of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline though a majority of Dene spoke against it at the Berger Hearings.[3]

Not all of the non-native people who had come north to work for the expanding bureaucracy were in agreement with its policies. Tensions within the government were evidenced in a number of departments. The Research and Development Division of the Department of Local Government produced a paper on the philosophy of local government stating that the local government system has "been unable to provide for the equitable involvement of native people" (Northwest Territories, 1975:3). This paper argued that the Department of Local Government must facilitate the self-determining expression of the people of the north. In 1978 after what came to be known as the Baker Lake affair[4], five employees of the Department of Local Government, Research and Development Division resigned. The resignations came after

the Territorial Executive clearly enunciated that its position was one of guided democracy and not one of self-determination. Guided democracy implied educating the native community in pre-determined institutions and systems and not having the native peoples themselves decide on the nature of institutions and those making decisions. Therefore, the Territorial Executive concluded that the level of political awareness of native people had been sufficiently developed and only administrative growth need be addressed (Stiles, 1979).

In addition to the expansion and nature of governing institutions, resource development became a primary issue in the 1970's. A number of multi-nationals began oil, natural gas and uranium exploration and this resulted in pressures for quick settlement of any native land-claims to make way for resource exploitation. The issue of pro-development versus anti-development, with development defined as immediate major non-renewable resource development, polarized people of the north. This polarization was not solely on racial lines. Focused through the Berger Inquiry, most Dene and a small but significant number of non-native people articulated the latter position in conjunction with support of aboriginal rights of native people to the land. Elements of the church also became defenders of native rights, and the "anti-development" position, such as those involved with Project North. By contrast, a number of people

of native descent expressed their support for the pipeline, in spite of the majority native objection to it.

## Change in Native Awareness: The Dene

However, in this process of governmental and economic expansion into the North, the awareness of the native people as to their own situation began to change. As stated by a Dene:

> After some fifty years of intense colonization and exploitation of our lands and resources, the Dene said "enough". In the late sixties our leaders began to organize, resulting with the Indian Brotherhood in 1970 (From the 1979 Dene Calendar).

Impetus for the formation of the Indian Brotherhood was provided by Southern Indians coming north relating their experiences, members of the Company of Young Canadians with "new tools of analysis" (Fumoleau, 1980:12) in combination with young educated Dene challenging their reality. The objective was to declare the Dene position on their rights to the land. Insisting that the treaties had been of peace and friendship not of land title extinguishment, the Dene chiefs filed a caveat on the land of the Mackenzie valley. However, an initial judgement by Judge Morrow acknowledging the aboriginal rights of Dene to the land was later reversed on a legal technicality.

In 1973 the Metis Association was formed and large joint assemblies with the Brotherhood were held in the Mackenzie Valley. In 1975 at the Fort Simpson joint assembly

a resolution was passed which came to be known as the Dene Declaration.

> We the Dene of the N.W.T. insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation. Our struggle is for the recognition of the Dene Nation by the Government and people of Canada and the peoples and governments of the world ... What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada (Dene Nation, 1976:18).

In 1976 an Agreement-in-Principle for land claims was presented to the Federal Cabinet. Although nearly accepted by Warren Allmand, Minister of Indian Affairs, the Federal Government never directly responded. Instead, Prime Minister Trudeau presented a paper on the constitutional development of the Northwest Territories rejecting the Dene position and established the Drury Commission to examine the political development of the Territories. The Dene refused to participate in Drury's work seeing it as an attempt to separate political development from land claims.

The Berger Inquiry of 1975 and 1976 was of major significance in the processes of the Dene defining their political position on self-determination; of creating critical awareness amongst Dene of their reality; of unifying various regional groups in the movement (Asch, 1979:3). A consortium of multi-national petroleum companies proposed to build a pipeline down the Mackenzie valley to ship Alaskan and Canadian arctic gas to markets in southern Canada and the United States. The Dene argued that the pipeline was not in their interests, rather it would present

a continuation of the involuntary erosion of their traditional land-based way of life. Secondly, they argued that land claims must be settled prior to any major development. In 1977, Berger recommended a ten year moratorium on large scale industrial development in the Northwest Territories to provide the Dene with the time necessary to evolve alternative modes of social, economic and political development (Berger, Vol. II, 1977:11).

In November, 1977, all five non-white advisors to the Indian Brotherhood were fired by the National Committee (executive) of the Brotherhood. Although the exact reasons were not stated publicly one suggested area of controversy was over the way in which the goals of a Dene government and a Dene territory could be achieved. George Erasmus, President of the Brotherhood, stated that "the first priority remains recognition of our rights as a nation." The Brotherhood says it plans to spend more time in the communities and does not agree that the issue of racism identified by the resource group is a priority (News of the North, November 30, 1977:1). The resource group had stressed the importance of "uncovering the relationship between Dene and non-Dene," a relationship they defined as racist (News of the North, November 30, 1977:3).

The Indian Brotherhood officially changed its name to the Dene Nation in 1978 and opened its membership to anyone of Dene descent. In the same year the Department of Indian

Affairs and Northern Development suspended land claims funding to the Dene (money on loan from eventual land claims settlement) and reversed their previous position on separate land claims for Indians and Metis. Disagreements between the Dene Nation and Metis Association as to a single claim remained unresolved into 1979.

In 1978 the Dene Nation began to develop their own community development training program through funding provided by the Federal Local Employment Assistance Program. A community development field-worker training program undertaken by the Brotherhood in 1974 had been curtailed due to funding difficulties. The community development training program started in 1978 is to be developed with control by Dene themselves. The training program is conducted in Fort Good Hope, in a Dene milieu, using mostly Dene as resource people. The goal of training field-workers is to enable Dene to make their own decisions about the direction their communities and lives should take, to not only prepare people for their future roles after land claim settlements but to work in a continual process of raising awareness and consciousness. The program has been influenced by the historical realities of the Dene, traditional community development practice and the need for negotiation of work relationships, an influence from the non-native resource group who were previously employed by the Indian Brotherhood.[5]

Change in Native Awareness: The Inuit

For the Inuit, a similar process of change in awareness occured through the seventies. The Inuit Taparisat of Canada (I.T.C.), based in Ottawa, was established in 1971 to protect the Inuit language and culture, to have a say in the education of Inuit children and to defend the right of Inuit to control their own lives (Unrau, 1979:6). Independent regional Inuit offices were also established in the Territories. The Inuit Taparisat established a land claims commission and in 1975 developed a proposal entitled Nunavut calling for the establishment of a new territory of that name over which Inuit would have control of resource development and potential environmental damage. It was presented to Cabinet in 1976 but was later withdrawn by the Inuit Taparisat after it was taken to the communities and found to be incomprehensible to Inuit and not representative of their desires. A separate land claims commission based in Frobisher Bay was formed in 1977 in order to develop a claim based on Inuit political, economic and cultural self-determination without the reliance on legal advisors of the first claim.

The Inuvik-based Committee of Original People's Entitlement, (including both Inuit and Dene residents of the Delta); feeling the immediacy of oil and gas development in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea, signed an agreement-in-principle with the Federal Government in 1978.

"Inuvialuit renounced forever all claims to 168,000 square miles in return for absolute ownership, including surface and sub-surface rights of 5,000 square miles and control over another 32,000 square miles plus $45,000,000 compensation from 1981 to 1999" (McCullum, 1979:13). Both the Inuit Taparisat of Canada and the Dene Nation rejected the model of this agreement, based on extinguishment of aboriginal rights, for they feared that it would set a precedent and prejudice their future negotiations.

A new Inuit Taparisat proposal emerged in 1977. Based on community consultation it emphasized:

> ...the right to political self-determination, the right to ownership of their traditional lands and water, and compensation for use of Inuit land by non-Inuit. It demanded the setting up of a new territory north of the tree-line and also insisted on constitutional recognition of the Inuit (Creery, 1979:11).

There has been little progress on negotiations as the Federal Government refused the request of the Inuit Taparisat to suspend all development activity in the area outlined during claims negotiations. The Drury Commission also caused difficulties as the Taparisat viewed it as an effort to remove the political elements of their claim from negotiation. In early 1979 the Board of Directors of the Inuit Taparisat voted to abolish the Land Claims Commission and resume negotiations themselves. Alongside the efforts in the political arena, the Inuit Taparisat established the Inuit Development Corporation based in Ottawa, as an

economic arm to invest in business for Inuit.

Major resource developments loomed in the land of the Inuit as well as the Dene. Polar Gas, another pipeline consortium, proposed a pipeline to bring south Arctic Island gas through the Central Arctic and Keewatin. No public inquiry was to be held. In the eastern Arctic applications were filed to drill for oil off Baffin Island. In the Baker Lake area of the Keewatin there was intense exploration by multi-nationals for uranium. In 1977, residents of Baker Lake requested a freeze on exploration. In 1979 when a permanent injunction was sought, the Supreme Court of Canada acknowledged aboriginal rights to hunt and fish but declared they had no surface rights, therefore exploration could continue (sub-surface rights are being questioned as well by Inuit but in this case the injunction dealt only with surface rights in terms of the right to be on the land to undertake exploration). Into 1979, the land claims question between the Inuit Taparisat and the Government of Canada remained unresolved as with the case of the Dene.

This chapter has provided the history of the political, economic and social context of the Northwest Territories. There are, of course, implications from this material for the questions of community development as a model of development in the Northwest Territories and for the role of interveners. The power relations of colonialism,

originally in the economic sphere and primarily since Second World War in the political sphere through massive state interventions, have minimized the ability of the Dene and Inuit to control their own development process. The Territorial economy has adapted to needs outside the Territories since the fur-trade, through whaling to current natural resources exploitation. The process of economic change from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism has meant that the labour of the Dene and Inuit is no longer needed. The process of colonization in the political and economic sphere has left the native people of the Territories underdeveloped and dependent upon various forms of state intervention. The application of community development approaches in the Northwest Territories has usually been part of state intervention and continuing Euro-Canadian institutional imposition.

However, the last decade has brought an organized reaction by Dene and Inuit to the position in which they find themselves. Both the Dene Nation and the Inuit Taparisat have articulated a different notion of development than those of the Federal and Territorial Governments and major corporations. The notion of development articulated by the native organizations is similar to the alternative notion of development introduced in Chapter One. What has emerged in the Northwest Territories is a power struggle over the right to define and control the development process

between native organizations and government and corporate bodies.

In presenting the material in this chapter, it would appear that the model of development implicit in the liberation paradigm can more accurately interpret the historical development and current situation of the Northwest Territories. For example, I would suggest that it is necessary to develop an explicit analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories in order to understand the adequacy of different models of development. As well, application of the liberation model would suggest that the change in native awareness be interpreted as resistance by the native people to political and economic imposition resulting in emergent nationalism on their part.

The information in this chapter will be used as a basis for the analysis of the political economy of the Territories to see if there are further implications for the role of interveners. From this analysis the adequacy of the community development model to deal with this reality will be determined. The experiences of interveners who were associated with the application of community development in the Northwest Territories will be presented in the following chapter. This data will then be incorporated into the critical assessment of community development as a model of development in the Northwest Territories and the role of interveners to be presented in Chapter Five.

## Footnotes to Chapter II

1. The following quotation is taken directly from an internal government document and clarifies the "development" program stated in 1970.

"The Department of Local Government is responsible for initiating and then assisting in the growth of political development in northern communities. It is also responsible for ensuring that the services usually provided by a municipal body (i.e., city) are available in the north.

The Department has a program which replaces the direct administration that used to exist in the past (Area Administrators) with different levels of local government giving local people more say in their own affairs. Local Government encourages the growth of local Councils in each settlement and as their desire to govern and experience grows, it gradually transfers to them the authority of a municipal council. This allows the communities to take part in making decisions on matters that concern them ...

The first level of political development is the Settlement Council. It is an advisory body only, (it is not incorporated), and while it is always consulted on matters that involve it, it has no real legal power and can be overruled by the Territorial Government ...

The Research and Development Division has two main responsibilities, the first is to organize a political development program in each settlement, and the other is to keep in touch with all other programs of the Department to ensure that they help as much as possible in the development of political awareness.

In most cases the Settlement Manager plays an important role in the development of local government in the community (this position is taken over in time by the Settlement Secretary or Secretary Manager), primarily because he is usually there in the community during its early development stages. He is hired by the executive and an important part of his terms of reference is a responsibility for local government development. In carrying out the local government responsibilities, the Settlement Manager uses the skills of a community organizer to help the people gain knowledge of, and self-confidence in the operation of a Council. In carrying out this particular function he relates directly to the Department.

The Development Section of the Division is responsible for the development of political awareness and local government structures at the settlement level. A staff of professional <u>community development workers</u> along with Regional Local Government Development Officers help settlements to establish councils and provide support in the further development of existing councils." (Northwest Territories: 1971; emphasis added).

2. Indian Affairs initiated a community development program that involved recruiting workers who would go to work with native people to help them "break out of their dependency on government" (Lotz, 1977:45). During this time, Mr. Eddie Belrose, an Alberta Cree, an assistant community development officer, was assigned to the Northwest Territories.

3. In this thesis I am not addressing the impact of the 1979 election of a territorial council that has a native majority as that occurred after I left the Northwest Territories and the thesis was already underway. However, it does raise interesting questions for further research, such as, will the fact that there is a native majority on Council make any substantive differences in government policy, and secondly, what will be the relationship between the Territorial Council and native organizations.

4. In the spring of 1978 a confrontation occurred between the Territorial Government Commissioner and Executive and the Local Government Research and Development Division in concert with the Hamlet Council of Baker Lake. The Research and Development Division had been asked by community councils to facilitate a regional workshop for settlement and hamlet councillors and staff.

The workshop was cancelled by the Territorial Executive just hours prior to planned commencement stating disagreement with the content, pointing particularly to written material which included *Rules for Radicals* by Saul Alinsky. Other settlement and hamlet councils, the Indian Brotherhood and Inuit Taparisat joined the Baker Lake Hamlet Council in stating what they felt should be their right to define what development meant to them. The employees of the Research and Development Division supported that right and a battle of several weeks ensued with the Territorial Government ending with the resignation of five employees and the transfer of a sixth who refused to resign.

5. There was a great deal of controversy over the funding of this training program. As a proposed project under the Local Employment Assistance Program, it was necessary to present the proposal to a Territorial Review Board in Yellowknife for recommendation to the national program (L.E.A.P.) for funding. The Territorial Executive and the Indian Affairs representative both tried to prevent funding of this project but succeeded only in holding it up for several months.

# CHAPTER III.

## EXPERIENCES OF INTERVENERS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

This chapter documents the actual experiences of people in the role of intervener engaged in development in the Northwest Territories who operated within the community development model. This model of development was criticized on the basis of comments in the literature and a logical analysis of contradictions; the data presented here will allow a further examination, in Chapter Five, of community development theory and the role of the intervener. It will then be determined whether this theory and role definition can account for the actual experiences of interveners in the Northwest Territories or whether the second model of development, the liberation model and the role implied in the concept of solidarity work, can more accurately deal with these experiences.

The impetus for exploring the role of interveners in development originated from my own experience in the role of intervener in the Northwest Territories. During four years of work experience in the Territories as an employee of the Job Creation Branch of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, my role as intervener generated tensions and

conflict. (see Appendix One for a summary of this work experience). Relying heavily on my own experiences, the method for obtaining the data would be primarily classified as participant-observation.

However, in order to explore further the concerns and issues raised for me, five extended interviews were undertaken with individuals, both native and non-native, men and women who also had experiences as interveners in the Northwest Territories. Those interviewed are not intended to be a representative sample; rather, those interviewed were chosen because each had articulated experiences of role conflict in the positions they occupied in relationship to development in the Northwest Territories. They were selected from a relatively small group of those interveners in the Northwest Territories who, from my observations, were trying to substantially change the exploitative situation of the native people. Although, they have formally occupied a number of different positions for different institutions, they have always viewed themselves as trying to create change. The institutions for which they have worked include the Federal Department of Northern Affairs; the Company of Young Canadians, the National Film Board, Challenge for Change, the Territorial Departments of Education and of Local Government, the Territorial Housing Corporation, the Dene Nation, the Catholic Church, Project North, and hamlet and band councils. Collectively, the five people interviewed

have over seventy-five years of work experience in the Northwest Territories. Although these people were not selected by a random procedure, based on my knowledge of the Territories, I would suggest that interviewing a number of additional people with equivalent experience would not have significantly altered the results of the interviews other than specific content.

The interviews were undertaken in Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories and Edmonton, Alberta between June and September, 1980.[1] The length of interviews ranged from two hours to twelve hours. A detailed interview schedule was used to ensure comparable material (see Appendix Two). Notes were taken during the interviews and summaries were completed immediately following each one. The information obtained from the interviews was systematically analyzed according to the nine areas of concerns outlined in the interview schedule. In addition to information on the experiences of those interviewed, the interviews suggested alternative models of development and alternative roles for interveners, and provided new factual information on recent events in the Northwest Territories.

## Concerns Raised by My Experience

My work experience in the Northwest Territories began in 1974. This experience was largely with the Local Employment Assistance Program of the Job Creation Branch and

is outlined in Appendix One. I came to the Territories with a background of work in community-based organizations, work experience in the Yukon and Northern Alberta with native peoples, a theoretical basis in community development from a university graduate program and a conviction "to help the native people of the North". I left the Territories four years later with numerous questions and concerns about the role of interveners in development.

Application of the theory of community development within the institutional position which I occupied meant working with native groups in communities to develop projects. The projects were to be based on needs identified by the community groups. Through the projects, people were to help themselves become more self-sufficient economically and thus more self-determining. Project funding was supplied by the department which I represented. Technology and outside resources were provided as required. The Local Employment Assistance Program for which I worked was not formally mandated as a community development program, however, community development approaches were discussed and utilized and staff-training included workshops on community development. Since 1980, projects within Job Creation which were formerly called Local Initiatives and Canada Works have been officially retitled Canada Community Development Projects.

The intervener role I was to assume was as a helper and facilitator of a developmental process with community people and as an administrator of government programs. My role was to motivate and educate native people in communities to develop projects, to provide or locate resources, skills and technological assistance as required and to monitor projects to ensure adherence to government mandate and objectives.

The larger political, economic and social context within which I worked has been outlined in Chapter Two. Major state intervention, increased extension of multi-national capital into the Territories for energy resource extraction and changing native awareness resulting in nationalism were culminating in a struggle over definitions and control of development. A major focus of this struggle was over the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipelines and the Berger Inquiry.

The contradictions, conflict and tensions raised by my experience as an intervener in the Northwest Territories were on two levels. In spite of the goals of community development, application of community development theory through my institutional position was not resulting in either self-sufficiency or self-determination for native people involved in projects. Therefore, I felt conflict in my role. Secondly, I felt growing concern over my relationship with people working on projects, who were almost all Dene or Inuit. Tensions arose that I was

ill-prepared for and unable to deal with. On this level, I also felt role conflict.

Contradictions and tensions arose at the institutional level. Although the objectives of the government program for which I worked were stated in humanistic terms, in reality, it did not seem that there was genuine interest in a process of human development controlled by those most affected by it. Through my work people clearly were gaining little real and effective control over their lives. The involvement of community groups in decision-making over substantive issues was minimal, however, project people were often led to think that they did have effective decision-making power. Instead of becoming more self-sufficient, the projects and the native people involved in them were becoming increasingly dependent on government funding.

In addition to creating a dependency on funding, the projects became part of a continually growing imposition of the institutions of Canadian society into the native communities of the Northwest Territories. Through the projects, native people were encouraged to assimilate into the economic and political relations of dominant society. Capitalist relations of production became entrenched. A prime example of the problems created by this at a community level was a craft shop that to survive was forced to adopt a system of production that exploited the labour of producers in order to compete with Southern-based industry which

depended on exploiting the cheap labour of immigrant women.

These inequities often resulted in the creation of conflict within projects and in communities. Some people profited more than others in direct economic terms and benefitted more from services offered. In some cases, the projects solidified old, or created new, power structures in communities. The projects often fed into a process of neo-colonialism in the communities.

The results of the developmental process in which I was involved often were not what I had intended which created tensions and frustrations. It appeared that the outcome of this process was that of the native people who were interested in gaining more control over their lives, a number were more interested in gaining power and economic benefits individually than in an equitable redistribution of power and economic benefits. Somehow I had expected that people who had experienced oppressive relationships would not recreate them. Secondly, native people were increasingly drawn into a cycle of consumerism of non-essential luxury items, non-nutritious foods and wastage. However, it was clear that both of these patterns were encouraged and entrenched by all forms of contact with dominant Canadian society, especially through mass media, the education system and government programs and represented the predominant pattern amongst all Canadians.

Difficulties also arose because Job Creation programs in which I was involved were national programs created in Ottawa. For the most part, they fit neither the cultural or economic realities of Dene and Inuit. Beginning in the early 1970's, the programs were intended to deal with difficulties in the Canadian economy that resulted in inflation and unemployment. However, the nature of and structural causes of unemployment for native people in the Northwest Territories were not addressed. Make-work projects could not solve the problems created through an economy that since the fur-trade had supplied needs, profited ownership and was controlled from outside the Territories; an economy that currently did not need the native people as a labour force. The result was that the programs did not, in fact, alter the situation of those native people who became involved in projects.

Throughout the period that I worked in the Territories, it was becoming increasingly clear that the form of development offered by government programs was not always what the native organizations intended. There were instances where this created tensions between people involved in government funded community projects and people in native organizations. As a supporter of the goals of self-determination of the Dene Nation and Inuit Taparisat, tensions were created in my role by involvement in programs of which they were critical. I was opposed to the continuing

colonization of native people of the Northwest Territories and their assimilation into dominant society as less than equals. Yet it seemed that the institution for which I worked represented a continuation of colonization and dependency relations for native people, not self-determination.

I also witnessed increasing controls, generally, by government administration over the lives of native people resulting in less independence for most. The influence of multi-national resource companies was growing and their interests were contradictory to those of most native people. Yet, the developmental process with community groups did not help people gain a critical analysis of such major determinants in their lives. In fact, one view is that involvement in the projects took the energy of people away from trying to come to critically understand their reality. It also became increasingly clear to me that the theory of community development which I had taken to the Territories with me was not providing an adequate analytical basis from which to comprehend the complex issues that I faced. Nor was the theory generating an effective model for development and social change.

That is not to say that I did not witness some positive results for native people from the developmental process. People did receive a modicum of control, although projects could always be and in some cases were, terminated by the

government. Certainly, some native people gained specific skills and experience in dealing with government that may have been useful elsewhere. People may have experienced personal growth. The process did engender a critical consciousness for some. However, it is my conjecture that such positive outcomes were far out-weighed by the lack of significant positive change to the political and economic position of those native people involved within the political economy of the Northwest Territories. In effect, people were not gaining more control over their own process of development. To be involved as an intervener in this process created substantial conflict, tension and over-whelming contradictions.

Tensions and role conflict were also felt within the relationships which I had with those community people with whom I was working. My role was to facilitate the developmental process of those native people on the projects with which I worked. Over time, tensions arose as I felt that I had little control over my own labour. I felt that I was either getting used to carry out a government mandate that I had disagreements with, or I was getting used at a project level in processes in which my labour did not get recognized. The work that I was doing was in the name of other people. As well, there were times when I felt that I was being exploited by people on the projects. There were incidences when I felt that people were not taking

responsibility for "their development".

Further, the internal dynamics of these relationships produced conflict in my role as an intervener. It was clear that there were asymmetries of power within these relationships, although there were attempts from both sides to deny this fact. I did not clearly recognize the ways in which my institutional role afforded me power over people. In fact, I often tried to identify myself with "the people" as opposed to the institution. Nor did I recognize what part my being non-native played in giving me certain kinds of power. In restrospect, it is clear that I gained self-esteem through my position so there were personal reasons for not uncovering the basis of power in my position. At the same time, I did become frustrated when native people would not challenge my position and would accept my suggestions uncritically. Feelings of paternalism emerged. Questions of racism and sexism did not get raised, much less dealt with. I ended up internalizing many of those tensions by saying they were my problems personally. The fact that I worked alone with projects served to keep these concerns at a personal level rather than to have a way of uncovering the structural bases of the asymmetries.

Contrary to what I had anticipated, involvement in this so-called development process did not result in the creation of relationships of equality. In fact I was beginning to feel oppressed in some of the relationships that I had with

people involved in the projects which created further role conflict. This resulted in a need to clarify what my interest was in being involved in such processes, yet the community development role I had identified for myself suggested that I should just be a facilitator of the development processes of others, that I should not have an interest of my own. This only served to increase the conflict which I felt in my role.

I also felt conflict in the definition of my role in development in the Northwest Territories outside the context of my work. During the Berger Inquiry I was involved in Alternatives North which was a group of non-native people who supported the aboriginal rights of native people to land-ownership and self-determination. The group supported the Dene in their stance against the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. However, we never clearly addressed the question of how it was in our interests as non-Dene to support the Dene in this stance. Alternatives North eventually disintegrated without having created any strong and organized alliances between non-natives and natives. The emerging nationalism amongst native people also worked against the creation of such alliances.

Unable to resolve the conflict that I was increasingly feeling in my role as an intervener and unable to develop a functional analysis by which to explain the conflict, I resigned from my position and left the Northwest

Territories.

The experience in the Territories was not totally negative. I had experienced a lot and felt I had shared in some marginal successes through my work. However, for the most part, the conflict, contradictions and tensions that I felt in my role as an intervener in development in the Northwest Territories, remained unresolved. Interviews with other interveners who also experienced conflict in their roles were undertaken to further explore the concerns raised for me.

## Experiences of Other Interveners

The extensive information gained through the interviews, was analyzed for dominant themes, which are presented in this chapter. Other information which influenced my assessment and analysis of the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories is included in the following chapter.

In examining the experiences of those interviewed, a pattern of similar responses emerged amongst those people whose personal histories and institutional roles in the Territories showed resemblance. Therefore, their experiences are recorded collectively. The responses of two people whose histories and institutional relationship differed substantially are recorded individually.

The pattern of similar responses emerged amongst those interveners who had gone to the Northwest Territories while in their twenties and had been involved in community development work in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Initial reasons for going north had varied. However, in retrospect, influences on their own positions during these years showed marked similarities.

As students in the 1960's they had been influenced by the Black, student (Students for a Democratic Society) and anti-war activism in the United States, activism on Canadian campuses (Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Sir George Williams in Montreal) and the Front de Liberation du Quebec (F.L.Q.) crisis in Quebec. The work of the American Peace Corps and its Canadian counterpart, Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO), and the student alienation and general idealism of the 1960's were influences as well. At the time, consciously or unconsciously they were anti-establishment, anti-authority, anti-government and anti-urban.

In some way, the injustices of North American society had been recognized though no fundamental analysis of the roots of such injustice had yet been formulated, nor had these people consciously identified what was their own interest in change. Those interveners seen to be part of this pattern had chosen to work with groups of people in society for whom the injustice was most blatant, which

included the native people of the Northwest Territories. They went north with liberal ideas of humanitarianism and were ill-equipped with tools of analysis for the situations encountered.[2]

Work was initially undertaken directly with the government or government funded programs such as the Company of Young Canadians (C.Y.C.). At this point, these interveners had definitions of development which ranged from the assumption that the programs being established by the government comprised development, (therefore working for the government was in fact developing the North) to a definition of development as that of any process that helped people to act collectively.

The term community development had been used by the Federal and Territorial Governments in the late 1960's to designate a per capita fund granted to communities "to undertake locally initiated projects for general community improvements and economic development" (Canada, 1968:122). However, the concept of community development as a process or model of social change was introduced to these particular interveners through exposure to individuals in southern Canada who espoused the concept, such as Company of Young Canadians staff persons, people at training sessions, community leadership labs, university programs or individuals who brought the concept north when they joined the Government, for example, the Territorial Department of

Local Government.

Adopted as a theoretical construct and as a model of organizing and development, community development meant a process of people organizing to gain more control over their lives or in the case of the Department of Local Government it specifically meant community control through the establishment of settlement councils. In saying they were doing community development work (though in some instances there was reluctance on the part of the institution which hired them to call it community development work, as that was seen to be too radical) the roles assumed by these interveners were those of change agent, facilitator, organizer, process person. The roles were supportive of what community people defined as issues and helped give power to communities. Community objectives were accepted by the interveners as their own. They saw themselves working as individuals, or at the most in concert with one other person as a team in a community, and not part of a larger strategy (outside of government policy). Thus, identification with community development provided a sense of shared perception and conviction.

The energy for the work appears to have come from some sense of frustration or oppression of their own which was worked out through the "Dene and/or Inuit cause." Even when employed by the government, identification with "the people" allowed them to express anti-government sentiment. In

looking back on the experience, one intervener felt that community development could be viewed as a movement by people who had educations and options for work (who by status quo standards should not experience oppression), yet felt some vague sense of oppression. Such people legitimized themselves in a struggle by allying with people at a grass-roots level who clearly had a "legitimate" reason to seek change.[3]

The interviews indicated that the actual experiences of these interveners in the application of community development had challenged their original perceptions of community development. This challenging occurred both at the theoretical level as to outcomes of the development process and at the level of their relationships with those people, primarily native, that they were supposed to be helping. Over time their analysis of the application of the theory of community development in the Northwest Territories changed. One respondent felt that in his early involvement with community development, native people were assisted to define issues, to organize and to act in order to gain some control over their lives. At that time any collective action was seen to be of value if it began to change the inertia created by colonization. He felt people needed the encouragement of outsiders. However, in retrospect he felt that the process lacked reflection, evaluation, focus on the internal dynamics of the groups and analysis of individual's

interest in involvement, particularly his own. He also felt that the development program of local government in the Territories was colonial in nature and tried to re-define native people to live like Euro-Canadians. His current view was that he would not now become involved in the application of community development, stating that this process must become a way of altering political and economic relationships.

A second respondent showed a similar change in perception, in this case with particular regard to the Territorial program to develop local government in the settlements. It was his assessment that native people in the settlements did gain some control over their situations through this program and that people were changing their relationships so that development was occurring. However, he also recognized that in this program community development was a vehicle for control over the Territorial native people by dominant Canadian society. His assessment was that the local government program had a racist basis because it undermined band council control in communities. The predominant interests served by the development of local government in the communities were seen to be those of the Territorial Government administration who needed to legitimize their position to the Federal Government as opposed to the interests of native people. When the interests of the Territorial Government were threatened by a

growing political consciousness amongst native people in the settlements, a change in program orientation from developmental to administrative was witnessed.

His perception of the community development process was also changed by an awareness of the problems emerging in the settlements as a result of this process. For example, the emergence of power elites and a class structure in settlements were seen to be one derivative of the local government program. As well, it was becoming increasingly clear that contrary to what community development theory had led him to believe should occur, native people were not going to be taking over his development worker job. Instead, the reality for most native people in the settlements was becoming less stable and increasingly ridden with social problems. Contradictions in his relationships with native people were emerging. Finally, his exposure to broader theoretical analyses, especially a class analysis of power relations led him to question the theoretical basis of community development.

For these interveners contradictions, conflicts and tensions also emerged in their role in development as the facilitators of the process of others at the level of their relationships to those Dene and Inuit with whom they were working, that is, with people they were supposed to be helping. In the experience of these interveners, manifest contradictions and tensions included the following:

1. feeling exploited when their (interveners) labour did not get recognized in the process of working for the self-determination of native people

2. feeling that, in some instances, native people were not being responsible for their part of the work. Accommodations made on the basis of "cultural differences" did not alleviate feelings of exploitation.

3. questioning why more native people were not struggling with "their reality" when the interveners were struggling with it.

4. recognizing that the issues they were involved in were not directly their own, nor could they be in some cases (for example, Dene and Inuit had a relationship with the Federal Government that meant they could negotiate land claims; non-Dene, non-Inuit did not have this relationship to the Federal Government).

5. recognizing the contradiction in working under the assumption that as interveners they were working themselves out of a job so native people could take over when clearly this was not happening, nor was adherence to this assumption necessarily in the interests of the interveners.

6. recognizing the contradiction of feeling paternalistic in certain situations toward the native people with whom they were working while on the other hand receiving reinforcement from native people who followed their suggestions or accepted their help. Reinforcement of interveners by native people was particularly strong when native people saw an identification with "their cause" against government or corporations.

7. feeling tension when working for the "Dene/Inuit cause" when the decisions and activities of native people were not those expected by the interveners.

8. sensing that the relationships with those with whom the interveners worked reflected internal oppressions including racism and sexism that were not being dealt with.

9. recognizing that the class background of the interveners was most often different than those native people with whom they worked.

10. recognizing that much of the power and influence of the interveners was derived through their institutional position (for example, as employees of the government) in conjunction with race (white as opposed to native)

which resulted in native people doing what interveners thought best. Yet native people for the most part, did not challenge these bases of power.

These tensions had material bases in the relationships that existed between interveners and the native people with whom they were working. (These tensions existed separate from and in addition to those between interveners and the government institution employing them, if this was the case. These tensions were also in addition to concerns as to whether the model of development that they were working in was able to achieve development per se). The experiences that these interveners found themselves in and the inherent contradictions of assuming a facilitating role, thus denying their own interest in the change process (a role assumed in most community development theory) forced a questioning of their own role and position. "Why do I feel exploited in this relationship?" "What are my own interests in these issues?" "Am I denying my own interest?" "Why are my own interests not being met?" "What is the basis of my relationship with these people?" and so on.

The interveners thought that these questions and contradictions could be dealt with more progressively if done so in concert with other people working in similar positions. In fact, one intervener thought it would be impossible to move beyond his initial position if he worked totally on his own (and in most instances field-workers operate singly in communities). The interveners personally grew and developed as they struggled to uncover the basis of

their relationships with the people with whom they worked and as they saw the need to define their own interest and the need for their own development.

Results of this on-going process included necessarily, a change in relationships with the native people with whom they were working, a difficult transition. Secondly, respondents felt the need for a changing analysis and theoretical basis as the previous one, (including that of community development) could not encompass their experience, their changing understanding of development and the redefinition of their role in it.

These changes and redefinitions had a base in reality but were influenced by exposure to other people and to written material, including literature on third world liberation, political-economic analyses, feminist writings, political theory and psychology. Written material on oppression in other situations and parts of the world lent validity to the experiences in which they found themselves. Their own writing was also used as a vehicle for clarification and development.

The definitions of development that evolved also indicated a commonality amongst these particular interveners. The definitions of development stated were closer to the level of the individual, that is, the definitions of development had become personalized. As the tensions and contradictions experienced by these interveners

had centred on their relationships with those they worked with and on uncovering their own interests, evolving definitions of development focused on relationships and had to reflect their own position in development. Development was viewed as an on-going restructuring of material relationships through a continual process of reflection and action in concert with others who shared similar interests.

For these particular interveners their experience had forced an evolution from the liberalism of their initial years in the North and their identification with the struggle of others, through community development approaches and theories, to new knowledge systems and positions. The new positions required a definition of their own interests and a negotiation of those interests with groups with whom they were to work.

In response to the question as to whether there is a role for non-native people working with native people in the Northwest Territories, the answer was theoretically yes. One respondent suggested that it would be possible for non-native groups to forge alliances with native groups, each group working from their own interests and experience. Agreements could be made to work in solidarity on whatever mutual concerns made sense at that particular time. At the same time it would be necessary to uncover elements of the relationships between the groups.[4] For this reason it would be necessary to work as a part of a group of non-native

people because working individually made it impossible to separate individual phenomena and to move beyond the personalization of the relationship. The respondent did not yet feel able to articulate what that would mean in practice. Community development as the respondents had known in the past could not be used unless a new model could be developed that could encompass progressive negotiated relationships between groups of interveners and groups of native people who agreed to work in solidarity on certain issues, because it served the interests of both groups at that time.

Aside from the pattern outlined above, the experiences of two respondents were specific to particular histories and positions in the Northwest Territories that differed from those of the other people interviewed. Similar to the others interviewed, the experiences of these two had changed their analyses, definitions of development and conceptions of their own roles. However, the particular changes were predicated on unique circumstances.

The first was a native person from the North. His position as an intervener was different as he was not external to the social group, as were the others. His history included living in a small Dene community participating in traditional bush life, being educated in residential schools stressing assimilation as extensions of colonialism, and working in the Indian Brotherhood for

several years in varying capacities both in communities and in the national office (Yellowknife).

There are several areas of discussion from this interview that are of particular significance in regard to the role of external interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. The first pertains to his reactions as a native person to the intervention by outsiders designated as community development. Initially his idea of community develoment was that of white people coming into communities asking a lot of questions of the people there and instigating action/reaction. His response to this was negative as he resented the fact that he felt less equal because he did not ask those questions. His general recollection was a feeling of mistrust because those people asking all the questions did not say why they were doing it or what was their interest in asking the questions and instigating action. Was it just because it was their job?

In the late 1960's many people in government, education systems, church and southern political people said they were eager to help. They tried to promote the feeling of "we're all in it together" which he felt served to appease their consciences but ended up by clouding the issues. He concluded that this approach reflected a racist basis which intimated that natives could not do anything without assistance. This approach suggested that because Dene were poor, unorganized, uneducated and could not speak English

they needed to be shown how to organize, how to have meetings, how to be like white people. Later when polarization began to develop between Dene and non-Dene these people were hurt because Dene no longer wanted their help. A strong collective position was growing amongst the Dene that was against everything that these helpers believed was right. Also, the Dene position in regard to land-claims was one which they as non-Dene could not legally be a part.

Involvement in 1974 in the community development and band development program provided him with an experience of community development from the position of a field worker working amongst his own people (that is, not as an outsider). He was one of a group of young Dene hired to work in different communities. They were able to spend time together, to work out approaches. He indicated that there had been no direction as to how to do community development; they found it difficult to find answers to what they wanted to do. This resulted in a forum with no direction. Helping in communities became a process of unlearning. They tried not to run programs, create bureaucracy or relate to people like the government models of community development had. They were trying to redefine community development in their own interests; they were trying to act in what he called a Dene way.

Although he did not view this community development program as directly successful, through working in it he was

able to develop a sense of community with his own people and to share his interest in encouraging other people to stand up for their rights as that would lend support to his own position. People started talking about development in a different sense. "We have to do it ourselves ... the way to do it is together." Through the collectivity of field-workers, those involved strengthened their belief in themselves and their laws (Dene laws), and began to develop their own philosophy, concepts, work habits. They began to recognize that as a people they were different and wanted to convince themselves and others that the Dene were a nation. Most of the young Dene initially involved in the community development program assumed positions of leadership within the Dene movement (some formally, others informally), others became workers for the Indian Brotherhood while the remainder went to work for the government.

Individual motivation for involvement as a community development field worker had included such factors as an opportunity to work in his home community, as a way of dealing with the dilemma of not wanting traditional roles, as a stimulating opportunity to create his own work, as a way to get into the Dene struggle and as a way of acting out his anger and hate against authority in general and white people specifically. It was only through working in a collectivity that he was able to move away from this position of hatred as far as he has.

This emphasis on the importance of struggling in a collectivity in order to come to a clearer understanding of one's own position in relationships is similar to that indicated in the pattern of outside interveners described previously. Though it was always easier to analyze outside his own situation, working in a collectivity forced a move away from rhetoric, to be more honest about why he did certain things.

Similar to the experiences of the external interveners previously outlined, as a community development field-worker, he had also experienced tensions in his relationship with the community people with whom he was working. The resulting tensions were often different from those experienced by the external interveners. The field-workers were in fact Dene working in their own communities in a Dene-iniated program (that is, not imposed by the government). This program allowed collective work by field-workers. Part of working through these and other tensions within the Indian Brotherhood itself resulted in seeing the need to negotiate one's work. He would not be at the whim of everyone's demand and was clear about what he would and would not do. He made people analyze whether his work was important and tried to be honest about his strengths and weaknesses. He attempted to be involved in such a way that he neither manipulated people nor was manipulated by others.

As with the interveners mentioned above, he moved away from a facilitative role to one where he defined his own position and worked from that base realizing that in so doing he increased his own power. The concept of community development, as he experienced it, is no longer useful to him. He now sees himself as a leader working at the national level in the Dene Nation with those people who share the same interest as he does, achieving development through struggling as a nation.

The remaining interviewee was a priest who had come straight from France to a small Dene community in the Northwest Territories in the early 1950's. At that time he reflected the position of the institution he represented which was that colonial Africa had been good for the African natives therefore the same should apply to North American natives. The church might be able to civilize and save them.

In retrospect, however, he felt that organized Christian religion had not significantly changed the community. In fact, he believed that the Dene were not threatened until 1967 when the Territorial administration moved north. Prior to that people still had a bush-life; there were few whites and they had little influence. Native people did not question their lives. After 1967, with increased intrusion by outsiders, the native people questioned the situation in which they found themselves and began to desire control over it. After wondering whether

perhaps their analysis was right, he too began to question the situation of Indian people in the Territories.

His initial exposure to the concept of community development was in the 1950's when a co-operative was being developed in the community in which he was a priest. In his view, developing the co-operative got people together for the first time to analyze, to learn to argue, and to discuss, to make decisions and to bear the consequences. People began to realize that they did have power to change their situation. He saw his role as a provider of skills. He benefitted from the experience by seeing what the people could do when allowed to. His interest in change was to enable native people to get a better grip on their lives economically before too many outsiders came. At that time he had no political views, no reason to consider anything outside of the community in which he lived. Exposure to community development as a concept broader than economic development came when the Company of Young Canadians came to the Territories in the late 1960's.

Cumulative experience working with Dene and questioning their reality along with them brought him to support their position for a land claim based on aboriginal rights. From his religious base he believed God gave intelligence to people and the right to be free and whatever restricted this was bad. Therefore he was willing to act in any way to help people to be free to make choices. He has provided support

work to the Dene in a variety of capacities.

He defined his relationship with the Dene as one of trying to do for himself what they are trying to do for themselves, all within a human struggle for quality of life. Race is not a question within this human struggle. He did not think that he needed the Dene nor that they needed him. Feeling his relationship to Dene to be equal he did not think the question of power was an important question in his relationship to them. In terms of his own development in relation to that of the Dene, he stated that there was a fine line between helping others and thereby perfecting oneself, and using (exploiting) other people to develop yourself.

He defined his position as that of just himself first and priest second. He did not see the need to work in a collective of people who viewed themselves to be in similar positions in order to develop a progressive relationship with native people. He did feel there are progressive roles for non-native people working with native people in the Northwest Territories and that such roles can be defined individually. The definition of development that he continues to use from his Christian perspective is "the willful transition from less human to more human conditions, that allows the use of one's talents to develop who one is through an interaction of all becoming more human together." Any system that prevents this must be destroyed, and

therefore there must be a restructuring of the political/economic order.

As with the others interviewed, his experience working in the reality of the Northwest Territories had necessitated a change from his original perception of the situation. He no longer supported the view of native people that he had on coming to the Territories. By nature of his institutional position as a priest his relationship to the Dene was as one individual to a group. The primacy of development appeared to be that of progressive changes for the Dene whereby he would also develop through his part in helping to achieve these changes. Different from the others interviewed he did not see the need for a collectivity with other people in similar positions to come to understand the dynamics of the relationship to those with whom one is working, and perhaps this resulted in a somewhat different perspective on development.

## Central Issues from the Experiences of Interveners

In this chapter the actual experiences of interveners in community development in the Northwest Territories have been presented. It is clear from the information derived, both from partipant-observation and the interveners, that these interveners did experience tension and conflict in their roles. The role tensions were associated both with the applicability and adequacy of the theory of community

development to create change within the context of the Northwest Territories and with the relationships between interveners and the people they were supposed "to be helping", in this case primarily the native people. On both levels elements of the theory of community development were contradicted by the experiences of the interveners.

The major causes of role tension for interveners which resulted from the model of development with which they were associated are summarized as follows. There was recognition that initially community development had resulted in native people gaining some control over their lives and learning to define issues, organize, and act together. However, the application of community development came to be viewed as a vehicle for control by dominant society, a continuation of colonization and institutional imposition and an extension of structurally determined exploitation into the native settlements. The outcome was seen to be increased dependency on government and little increase in control by people over their own process of development. The outcome was neither self-sufficiency nor self-determination as had been anticipated in applying community development theory.

The native person interviewed, who had been a recipient of this community development process, stated his negative response to it. He felt less equal through the process, arguing that those helping only clouded the issue. He also felt the development process had a racist basis which

suggested native people could not organize themselves.

Concerns over the interests being served by the development process were also raised as were concerns over the creation of class structures and unequal benefits of development in the communities. Concern was expressed that the development programs of the government were in conflict with the goals of native organizations and were, in fact, co-optive. The results of all of these concerns were role tensions for the interveners who were the community-level workers in these programs. As a result of these role tensions, the inadequacy of the analytical basis of community development to explain these tensions and as a result of exposure to other analytical and theoretical approaches, most of these interveners came to doubt the theory and practice of community development.

Adoption of the role of intervener implicit in community development also created tensions. These tensions were focused on the relationships between interveners and those people that they were "supposed to be helping" in this case the native people of the Northwest Territories. As facilitators and change agents in the development processes of others, some interveners ended up feeling exploited as their labour was not getting recognized. The developmental process did not appear to be a mutual one for interveners and those people they "were helping". Tensions arose in situations where native people were not assuming

responsibilities. Concerns arose over what the interests of interveners were regarding issues which were not directly their own. The internal dynamics of the relationships created tensions. Power asymmetries were not dealt with nor were questions of oppression within the relationships addressed, such as racism and sexism. Working on one's own, as is the usual pattern in community development, meant that most of these tensions were personalized and internalized. Community development theory had led the interveners to believe that they should be working themselves out of a job to be replaced by native people. This clearly contradicted the reality of their experiences.

In all cases, the interveners developed personally through their experiences in the Northwest Territories. They developed differently depending upon their particular relationships, both to native people and to other interveners, for example, as non-natives with other interveners; as a Dene with other Dene leadership; as a non-native alongside native people. Although the interveners recognized that they had learned from their involvement with community development, they did not believe this positive outcome affirmed its effectiveness as a model of development or the role it implied for interveners.

Role conflicts and tensions had created the need for new knowledge systems. All of the interveners whose experiences were recorded in this chapter were actively

engaged in redefining the developmental process. This redefinition was both in terms of a model to create the changes they felt were required in society and in terms of their personal role in a development process.

## Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Note that two of the interviews undertaken were incomplete. The first section (see Appendix I) was seen to be irrelevant to the experience of one person. In the second case, time constraints prevented completion of the last section of the questionnaire and distance precluded a follow-up interview.

2. The choice to not identify those interviewed in the text of the chapter was based on a desire to emphasize content as opposed to focusing on particular people. However, it is important to credit people for analysis that was clearly their own; in this particular case credit is given to Wilf Bean.

3. This information was obtained from an interview with Wilf Bean, Edmonton, Alberta, September, 1980.

4. *Ibid.*

# CHAPTER IV.

## ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

The discussion of the alternative model of development, which incorporated the criticisms of the theory of community development at a general level, indicated the necessity of understanding political and economic structures. As well, it was suggested in Chapter Two that this alternative model of development, implicit in the liberation literature, may be more adequate in interpreting the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. This model demands more and different information. Therefore, on these bases, an analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories is presented by re-analyzing the descriptive material on the Territories offered in the second chapter, and adding further information gathered during the interviews. Applications of the central issues raised by this analysis will be incorporated into the assessment of the theory of community development and the implicit role for interveners in the Northwest Territories in Chapter Five.

An analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories indicates the predominance of the following factors, structures and relationships: the colonial historical reality, the massive state intervention and continuing institutional imposition, the intensified pressures of multi-national companies for energy resources exploitation, class divisions, and the emerging nationalism amongst native groups in response to the aforementioned factors. All have significance for an exploration of the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories.

The historical reality of the Northwest Territories is colonial, beginning with the economic exploitation of the fur and whaling trade and continuing into this century through the major political intervention by the Canadian Government after World War II. Government intervention resulted in the transfer of the Territorial Government to Yellowknife in 1967. Large scale government interventions and the pressures for major resource exploitation by multi-nationals of the ensuing decade have represented the significant determinants of the current political/economic structure.

Native people were encouraged by the Territorial Government to move into permanent communities. By the 1970's the majority of native people had shifted their primary residence into permanent settlements from migratory camp

life. The primary unit of production shifted from small bands, family grouping, to households (Asch, 1979:15). Dene and Inuit came into contact with the institutional frame-work of capitalism through wage-labour, welfare or jobs created by transfer payments (for example, economic development, job creation projects). Although wage income and transfer payments became an increasing part of native subsistence economy, land-based activities continued to be important. The education system, modelled after that in southern Canada, eroded traditional native values and culture, though not to a point of being irreversible (as evidenced by the Berger Inquiry). The paternalism of religious, education and government institutions produced amongst many native people a relationship of non-responsibility. Clearly differentiated from irresponsibility, non-responsibility implies a sense of powerlessness and paralysis of action which result from conformation to authorities outside oneself that have assumed control over and responsibility for major areas in ones life. The paternalism also resulted in a correlated response amongst many native people marked by difficulty in contesting authority, especially if that authority was non-native and it nearly always was.

However, from these same relationships grew an impetus for change. In a number of instances, native people made attempts to take over institutions brought by government, to

make them work in their own interests (for example, settlement councils such as in Arctic Red River where the band council became recognized as the settlement council; and schools such as in Rae-Edzo where the school became administered by a local native committee). Alternately, native people worked to establish their own institutions, beginning with the creation of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Inuit Taparisat of Canada. Both organizations declared their intent to further create their own institutions through the medium of land claims that would give them the political power to do so.

Government presence increased not just at the head-quarters level but at the community level where various departments fractionalized community life into settlement council, band council, housing association, education and welfare advisory committees etc. Entrenchment of the influence of government at this level included the hiring of younger, formally educated, native people as local settlement secretaries, teaching assistants, welfare-aids, etc.

By 1978, 70 percent of those people employed in the Northwest Territories were direct employees of government (Federal, Territorial, Municipal).[1] Of the remainder many had jobs that were dependent on government activities. The increased government bureaucratization was significant in a number of ways. The power and influence of the government

administration (not directly accountable to the Territorial populace) cannot be underplayed, especially given the lack of power of the Territorial Council and the absence of party politics. Secondly, the increase in government employees, the majority of whom were from the south and non-native meant that by 1978 only 59 percent of the territorial population were Dene, Inuit, or Metis.[2]

The growing non-native population largely supported increased institutional development and services patterned after those with which they had been familiar in southern Canada. In so-doing, they allied themselves with the interests of the Territorial Government. Even though most of the non-native population were transient (that is, did not intend to remain in the Territories, most staying only a few years) they demanded equal rights and equal say in the determination of the future of the Territories. The Territorial Government propagated the myth of "we're all northerners" to remove tensions around native demands, to deny the existence of fundamental differences of interest and to legitimize the position of non-native interests. Being proponents of the dominant development paradigm of "bigger-better as progress", the majority of the non-native population supported major resource development.

A majority of government employees could be viewed as "career bureaucrats" who saw their futures within government and whose primary interests remained the maintenance or

advancement of their position within the government. They viewed their own positions as a-political. They did not attempt to examine the basis of their relationships to issues of development in the north, to land claims, to native people or to the government itself. The establishment of a separate Dene Nation or Nunavut threatened their careers. The increasing numbers of bureaucrats played roles similar to the nineteenth century agricultural settlers in the prairies who supported the interests of the government against the interests of the native people in the expansion of central Canada into native held territories. "The function of the bureaucrat, which will be pursued more or less unconsciously remains the facilitation of the destruction of the native political economy and the independence of the native people" (Laing, Puxley, Sutton, Bean, 1978:318). Many of the few native people employed by the government also became career bureaucrats.

Not all those employed by the government supported its fundamental policy. This was evidenced by a small minority of government employees who spoke openly against the Government within the Department of Local Government in 1977 (*supra*, p. 72) and others who articulated their disagreement with government policies through Alternatives North (a Yellowknife based non-native anti-pipeline aboriginal rights support group). Not being career bureaucrats many of these people have since left the Government. Another segment of

the non-native population who disagreed with fundamental government policy were those who worked with various native organizations against government policy and the position of multi-nationals on resource development.

In order to gain more power within Canada there was a push within the Territorial Government for provincial status, contrary to the intentions of the Dene Nation and the Inuit Taparisat of Canada for separate political entities within Canada. However, it remained in the interest of the Federal Government to retain control over the immense natural resources. Power for all major decisions remained in Ottawa. From its position at a distance, the Federal Government provided some support to native people, such as funding to their organizations and money for land-use research and land-claims preparation. At the same time the Federal Government denied the possibility of political land claims.

In the economic sphere the result of such major government intervention in the Northwest Territories was the creation of a welfare-state, a form of politically subsidized capitalism, serviced by a large bureaucracy. Without a substantive economic base many native people were dependent on transfer payments whether through direct social assistance or make-work projects. The political policies of "benevolence" of the government modified economic determinism in regard to the economic position of native

people. Apathy and non-responsiblity were common effects. The majority of the Territorial population either administered, received or used government monies.

Increasing pressures for resource exploitation to serve the needs of southern Canada and the United States resulted in proposals for several major developments which brought to bear the influence of national and multi-national resource corporations in the Canadian north. The interests of these corporations were solely in the resources. Native people were not needed as a source of labour, in fact their presence and their potential land claims were in the way (*supra*, p. 73). In economic relations of production the Inuit and Dene had become functionally dispensable.

However, the issue of the MacKenzie Valley pipeline helped to develop an analysis of economic relations. Native people began to state that they were not supportive of "development" that served external interests.

> The natives in the North are saying "No" to southern style development. They are beginning to make connections between the colonial exploitation of the North by southern interests and for southern needs ... Government and corporations together have a long history of forging the kind of development which has left Native peoples and southern Canadians in the lurch. The two forces continue to shape the direction of the Canadian economy and determine the needs of Canadian citizens often for their own short-term financial and political ends ("Land for the Future" 1976:n.p.).

Groups of people in northern and southern Canada, such as environmentalists, aboriginal rights supporters, and political groups who questioned the need for development

that served American interests, allied themselves with the Dene against the multi-nationals.

Impinging resource development hastened the need for land claims by native people. The claims were articulated as political claims for self-determination not just land settlements. Native movements became more broad-based, as demonstrated at the Berger Inquiry, however the claims themselves were not a product of mass consciousness. The realities of Dene and Inuit leadership who were dealing with negotiations with the Federal Government, and of native people at a community level who were coping with day to day existence, differed, resulting in tensions.

Political and economic influences and structure are clearly interrelated in the Northwest Territories. Political forms such as state welfarism and the Berger Inquiry have altered the economy. The state, largely the Federal Government, has had a policy since the mid-1960's of leading resource development north through providing infrastructure and offering enticing tax concessions. Through such policy the state serves to expand capital into the North. The state owns minimal means of productions, such as Petro Canada, but the state does in fact see itself as the owner of all of the land in the Territories in which the resources are found (excluding the recent settlement with the Committee for Original People's Entitlement in the MacKenzie Delta). The state then leases to corporations the right to exploit the

resources in return for economic rents. However, the majority of profits are retained by the private corporations, of which many are multi-nationals. These profits flow out of the Territories and out of Canada as development continues to support the interests of the core of industrial capitalism as opposed to peripheral areas such as the Territories.

The owners of the multi-nationals and nationals involved in resource development in the north for profit, and the political decision-makers at the highest levels of the Federal Government, who seek power, unite in a class interest with tremendous power and influence in the political economy of the Territories (as modern day colonialists). The Territorial Government with no control over natural resources becomes merely an arm of the Federal Government in these activities. The bureaucrats and those employed in work dependent on government presence emerge as a burgeoning, intermediary or middle class. More often than not they allied themselves with the class interests of the multi-nationals and political decision-makers over fundamental questions though they may differ over specific issues. The traditionally defined wage-working class in the Northwest Territories is largely employed in resource exploration or extraction. Many are not residents of the Territories, rather they maintain residences in southern Canada while working for set periods of time in the North.

Their own struggles as workers are institutionalized and reformist in nature. Some trade unions did state their support of the Dene at the Berger Inquiry but tended not to oppose the pipeline because of their interests in jobs. They have not been a force for any major social change in the Territories.

Only a minority of Dene and Inuit are middle class or traditionally defined wage-working class. The majority are either still hunter-gatherers, marginally employed (make-work projects) or unemployed. The relationship to the government of those marginally employed or unemployed is marked by transfer payments. Those still living on the land own their means of production but the state claims ownership of the land that sustains their livelihood and has the power to lease or transfer ownership that could destroy the ability of native people to gain a livelihood from the land (such as major resource development). As non-native outsiders comprise a majority of the labour pool, the contradiction between labour and the owners of production largely excludes native people. Therefore, the basis of the native relationship to the political/economic structure is different. Most native people are removed from the traditionally defined struggle for change based on worker-owner relations.

As the economic differences in general between native people (Dene, Inuit, Metis) and non-native people (largely

white outsiders) are greater than between classes cutting across the racial boundary, nationalism (Dene Nation, Nunavut) emerges as stronger than class consciousness as an immediate form of organization and political consciousness. A related explanation for the emergence of ethnicity is to view it as a direct response to the inequities and dependence created for the native people of the North by capitalism and imperialism. Ethnicity arises as an attempt to resist imperialism, to control it, to draw from it as many benefits as it may have to offer and to politically articulate and advance communal interests (Saul, 1979:pp.12,16).

From this perspective, the emergence of native political organizations such as the Dene Nation and Inuit Taparisat, are a response to the dilemma of Northern underdevelopment in which native people find themselves. Through the formation of these political organizations, the native people as a subordinate class seek control over their lives and greater social justice (Saul, 1979:23). The focus of these organizations on native culture as the basis for self-determination, for example, emphasis on native languages, cultural values and decision-making methods and on traditional economic relations, can be interpreted as a response to their situation of underdevelopment and lack of self-determination. For example, the ethnicity and nationalism expressed by the concept of a Dene Nation

articulates a politicized view of the recognition of all Dene as a unique group, a view that was not articulated or politicized prior to penetration of the Territories by colonialism and a capitalist money economy. This native ethnicity and nationalism has become a major factor only since the massive state intervention of the late 1960's and impending major energy resources development that threatened the way of live of the native people.

The argument is that the link between the emergence of nationalism in this context and global capitalism is the fact of uneven development. That is, nationalism is seen to be a by-product of capitalist and imperialist conquest and domination of the native peoples of the Northwest Territories whereby progress in the capitalist core meant domination and underdevelopment in the periphery of the Territories (Nairn, 1975:3). The result is that racial identity has become a premise for socio-polictical activity.

The consequences of this process of ethnicity and nationalism in the Northwest Territories are multiple. The Dene and Inuit inhabit one political geographic unit, the Northwest Territories, an entity created through colonization. Currently, the Inuit and Dene work from separate bases of ethnicity and nationalism. They have not been united by the same historical experience or the same political, economic and social aims. As well, tribalism within the major groupings of Dene and the Inuit creates

inner tensions within the organizations, for example, between the Dene of the Mackenzie Delta and the Dene of the South Slave Region. The land claims settlement by the Committee for Original People's Entitlement for the Inuit of the Western Arctic was not seen by Inuit in the other regions to be in their interest. Secondly, traditional practices and values, such as male superiority, may be rationalized by ethnicity. Thirdly, and of prime importance to the discussion of the role of non-native interveners, the emergence of nationalism and racially based ethnicity in the Territories has created visable boundaries of exclusivity and made the formation of alliances across racial lines difficult. Racially based groups have become predominant, mitigating the development of any broader class consciousness as a force for change.

Outside the political/economic structures, a major determinant of social relationships between non-native and native people continues from the historical reality of colonialism that had and continues to have a racist basis (the colonizers view themselves and their way of doing things as superior). This racist basis of relationships continues largely unconsciously amongst the Territorial populace. The Dene, influenced by the non-native resource group who worked with them, have articulated their struggle in terms of a need to decolonize themselves and rebuild a society free of racist and exploitative relationships. Yet

racist based attitudes have continued to prevent broad-based effective alliances between forces of change across racial boundaries. The continuing racial distinction serves the interests of the multi-nationals as any larger shared class interest would be threatening to them.

To summarize, the political economy of the Northwest Territories is shaped by internal and external factors. Those internal to the Territories are the increasing government bureaucratization and domination of government at all levels, the growth of a welfare-state, and the continuation of colonial relationships based on race. Factors external to the Territories include the extension of capital into the Territories by the national and multi-national resource development corporations in concert with Federal Government policy. This extension of capitalism has not incorporated the native population into a work force rather corporations have brought their own labour force. Consequently, the native population has not been proletarianized. The emerging nationalism amongst native people in response to these factors has become a determinant.

The situation is compounded by discussions of constitutional questions elsewhere in Canada (that is, Quebec's desires for sovereignty association, federal/provincial discussions over constitutional issues and patriation of the Constitution from Britain). During

this period, North America has been plagued by an inflationary economy and a recognized shift to the right in political leadership, both of which influence events in the Northwest Territories.

The forces for change within the Northwest Territories are largely confined to the issues around the Dene and Inuit struggle for political self-determination in land claims settlements. The native population and those individuals and groups allying themselves with them are small in number in comparison to the population of southern Canada or the United States. It is unlikely that their interests will supercede the power and influence of the multi-nationals and the state. A broader-based movement for change will be required.

It is within this political economy that the role of interveners in development is being explored. In light of this analysis and the experiences of interveners recorded in the last chapter, the application of the theory of community development in the Northwest Territories and implicit role for interveners will now be critically assessed.

## Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. This information was obtained from the Northwest Territories Government Office in Edmonton, Alberta and was derived from 1978 Government Statistics.

2. *Ibid.*

3. "The basically colonial character of the Northern economy has remained fundamentally unchanged since Europeans first explored the area over 300 years ago. The Northern economy has always depended on the exploitation of its natural resources for export. Economic growth has, consequently, been determined by outside forces, notably the demand created by the industrial societies of Western Europe and the rest of North America... Because the domestic market for raw materials was limited, large scale resource exploitation depended on foreign markets. Given the limitations of a new nation, much of the necessary capital had to come from outside the country as well. Consequently, private foreign ownership became the principal agent of development of Crown land in the Canadian North. When private enterprise was incapable of achieving the required scale of organization or financing, the state intervened directly by entering into partnership with business firms or even by establishing public corporations to do the job.

In recent years, there has been a marked increase in the state's role as initiator of and participant in large projects. In part, this may be seen as a response to growing public concern over the extent of foreign ownership and control. However, there has in fact been little obvious difference in the type of activity which occurs under public, as distinguished from private, auspices in the North. The employment and income effects are not easily distinguishable nor is the profitability or stability of the enterprises concerned." (Science Council of Canada, 1976:n.p.).

# CHAPTER V.

## CONCLUSIONS: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF INTERVENERS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

In this chapter I will integrate and critically assess the material which has been presented in order to explore the role of interveners in development in the Northwest Territories. The questions raised at the beginning of the thesis were:

a. does the theory of community development, and the role implied therein for interveners, adequately explain the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories so that social change can be created and

b. does the theory of community development and the role implied for interveners account for the actual experiences of community development workers as interveners in the Northwest Territories, and

c. is there an alternative development theory which more adequately accounts for the political, economic and social realities of the Territories and the experiences of interveners.

Each of these questions will now be discussed and analyzed on the basis of the material presented in the intervening chapters.

Chapter One critically reviewed the theory of community development and implicit role for interveners. Insights gained from this critique will be used in assessing the

application of community development in the Northwest Territories in this chapter. Chapter One also outlined an alternative model and role for interveners based on the critique of community development. Chapter Two presented a historical and descriptive account of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. Chapter Three recorded the experiences of interveners associated with the application of community development in the Northwest Territories. Chapter Four presented an analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories. This chapter will present a critical re-assessment of the theory of community development and implicit role for interveners, as outlined in the first chapter, in light of the data presented on the realities of the Territorial context and the application of community development therein, and the empirical data from the experiences of interveners delineated in the third chapter.

## Community Development as a Model of Development in the Northwest Territories

Analysis of the application of community development in the Northwest Territories indicates a pattern not unlike that in the British African colonies. Government intervention, including community development, grew from a particular set of political and economic conditions and served particular interests, encouraging people to develop

in a certain direction to serve those interests. Community development was maintained as long as the intended direction of development was followed but as will be shown when "those to be developed" began to assume control of the process and define development in their interests the application of community development was suppressed. It will be shown that community development was linked to a particular phase in the history of the Northwest Territories.

The application of community development in the Territories was within the realities created by colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism. The historical context in post World War II colonial Africa, out of which the concept of community development emerged, was similar to the context in the Northwest Territories in the 1950's that marked major government intervention. The Cold War and fears of spreading socialism and Russian aggression created the need to show and retain Canadian sovereignty (*supra*, p. 18, p. 60), especially in light of the heightened interest in major resource development in the North.

By 1967 in the Northwest Territories there were efforts to encourage democracy and local initiative in order to establish economic and political forms in line with "western democratic tradition" (*supra*, p. 18). As the resources in the Northwest Territories had come to be seen in the national interest it was in the interest of the Federal Government (as well as the multi-national monopoly

capitalists engaged in natural resource exploitation) to establish a local presence regarding sovereignty over both the land and the vast natural resource potential (*supra*, p. 60). In the Northwest Territories, there was, as there had been in the African colonies, a pressure from the growing non-native (colonial) population for services and local government modelled after those with which they were familiar.

The humanitarian concerns for improvement in the plight of the Native people of Northern Canada or of the Blacks of the colonies in Africa by some policy-makers cannot be denied. Pressure regarding the well-being of the native people of the Northwest Territories was a factor in intervention by the Canadian Government (Rea, 1968:352, Crowe, 1974:152). Policy was influenced but largely in terms of providing welfare rather than encouraging self-determination through political and economic control.[1]

Community development was adopted as a model of intervention in the particular circumstances indicated above and served specific and comparable interests in both cases. Community development represented a model that would extend and entrench a British form of government, which was understood and believed in by those promoting it. Community development was more consistent with the concept of guided democracy rather than self-determination. Community development represented a model that would not threaten

existing property relations of production and ownership of capital.

The application of community development in the Territories can not be viewed simply as an approach to increase citizen participation and local decision making. Rather, it must be viewed as a method of intervention used to serve particular economic and political interests contradictory to those of the majority of people and to their ability to control their own development process. For example, the development of local government, the most extensive program in the Territories that can be viewed as using a community development approach, was intended to promote "genuine social, economic and political development" (Canada, 1968:106). However, in fact the creation of councils in each settlement served the interests of the newly formed Territorial Government to legitimize its position in the Territories. The Territorial Government feared that the Federal Government would again assume administration of the Territories if the Territorial Government was not able to establish a community level presence.

> ... the overall purpose of the program was not the development of community level political autonomy per se but rather the satisfaction of conditions set by Ottawa which would lead to an increased transfer of responsibilities to the territorial administration. Local government in the communities was simply the means by which the territorial administration could justify gaining increased administrative responsibilities from Ottawa.
> ... To my knowledge, it was never considered that

> the peoples being governed might wish to have some say in the design of their own government. The Territorial administration apparently saw no contradiction in talking of people governing their own affairs while at the same time imposing a completely predetermined and alien government structure for such decision-making (Bean, 1976:132, 133).

Community development as it was applied in the creation of local government meant the imposition of the political institutions of Euro-Canadians on Territorial native people. The local government program did not encourage native people to examine their reality in a context of what options they might define and create.

Other community development approaches in the Territories, for example, the Local Employment Assistance Program (L.E.A.P.), co-opted people into pre-determined institutions through community projects. Community projects of an economic nature, such as those funded by L.E.A.P., were drawn into capitalist relations of production and consequently often experienced problems such as exploitation of labour at the local level. The activities of these and community projects, as with the settlement councils, could be contained by government and served to extend the control of the dominant society into the Territories. Class-based hierarchies in communities resulted, with a neo-colonial elite that the government hoped would answer to them, not the community (*c.f.* Edgar Dosman, *The Urban Dilemma*, 1972).

The confinement of development activities to the local level often set communities against each other, competing

for budget and services and made the communities individually vulnerable to the pressures of government and multi-nationals. Under the pretext of creating non-racist democratic municipal government that non-natives could take part in, band councils were undermined in Dene communities. In both Dene and Inuit communities there were cases where non-natives came to dominate settlement councils even though they were a definite minority by population (*c.f.* Cheezie, 1976). The outcome institutionally was the creation of racist and paternalistic relations, authority institutions, increased dependency by the majority of native people on government and a continuation of economic imperialism (as with the former African colonies).

In spite of the institutional imposition and government goals of containment, opposite effects were also realized. For example, the local government program did give community people some control over their situation, though not substantive or in important areas. People did develop organizational and administrative skills. People received encouragement to act at a time when they needed it, due to the effective colonization process they had undergone. An inherent contradiction existed within the local government program because it served to create an awareness amongst some Dene and Inuit that resulted in the challenging of authority. Some community people began to develop their own positions not just to react to government policy.[2]

By 1973, the process of the development of settlement councils began to threaten the Territorial Government and the government orientation clearly changed from the development of political awareness to the development of administrative capabilities. Threats were posed when settlement councils made requests that the Territorial Government could not deal with either ideologically, administratively or budgetarily; and when native people involved with councils began to take positions against the government or resource developments such as the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline. The Territorial Government feared the growing pressure for settlement of land claims as they had no jurisdiction in such negotiations. The Federal Government had jurisdiction over both the land and negotiations with Indians and Inuit.

When native people began to define development that served their interests (as evidenced through the creation of the Indian Brotherhood, the Inuit Taparisat, presentations by native people at the Berger Inquiry, the Baker Lake Affair) community development approaches began to be suppressed. The Territorial Government stated that the desired level of political awareness had been reached. Emphasis was changed from development to administration whereby the government hoped to entrench institutions that would not dispossess them, for example, by appearing to pass on control to regions and communities through the process of

evolution. By 1977, the term community development disappeared from the Territorial Government annual reports of local government activities.

A number of those hired by the Territorial Government to develop settlement councils were interested in influencing fundamental social change. Their interests were served through the conflicts within the government around the issue of local government (for example, the "Paper on the Philosophy of Local Government," *supra*, p. 72). Community development had different meanings for government employees at different levels of government. To development officers and many settlement managers, community development had a meaning akin to the composite definition outlined above (*supra*, p. 25) whereas those working at a program policy level had a narrower definition, that is, that community development meant the development of settlement councils. A tension resulted within the Government as to whether the establishment of settlement councils was the total development objective.

This tension was clearly evidenced by the way in which the Territorial Council and Government dealt with the "Paper on the Philosophy of Local Government." Presented to the Territorial Council in 1975, the recommendations from the paper were tabled indefinitely. Settlement managers and development officers who defined development as more than just the establishment of settlement councils likely created

more development in terms of political awareness than was intended by government policy. This tension as to what development and self-determination meant was clearly elucidated on a broader level during the "Baker Lake Affair" in 1977 (*supra*, p. 72) when a number of settlement councils along with employees in local government raised the question as to what development meant. The Territorial Executive was forced into declaring that development was in terms of guided democracy, not self-determinaton.

This analysis suggests that the development policy of the Northwest Territorial Government unintentionally created political awareness opposing domination and supporting self-determination. To the Federal and Territorial Governments and the corporations development had meant the co-optation of the people of the Territories into pre-determined institutions through instruments and strategies they could control. To a large degree they succeeded, hence the continuing colonization and increasing dependency of native people on government. However, the experiences in community development did serve to politicize some people and not just those "to be developed". Interveners as well as community people, the majority of whom were native, learned and were often changed by the relationships and processes in which they were involved. Some native people, as well as small numbers of non-native people, (*supra*, p. 73) began to define their own

institutions and instruments (for example, the Dene Nation) and to set their own strategies, as evidenced by the Baker Lake Affair or the Berger Hearings. Clearly, the application of community development also created a change in awareness of those institutions employing the process. Whenever the programs that had been established to protect government/corporate interests began to create too much political awareness, moves were made to suppress them, either by changing their orientation or by eradicating them altogether (for example, the local government program, *supra*, p. 73, the Company of Young Canadians).[3] The government might in retrospect feel that their initial approaches to development at a community level had been "too liberal" as the political awareness it created was beyond that which they had intended.

The application of community development represented a phase in the development of the Territories, used when it advanced the interests of governments and corporations, suppressed when it threatened these interests. Involvement in community development was also a transitional phase for some native people, who went on to create their own political institutions and strategies, and for some interveners who moved beyond the facilitative/helping role to wanting to work in their own interest.

The assessment of the application of the theory of community development in the Northwest Territories is that

it was not intended to challenge the structures and relationships which are the major determinants of the political economy. The analysis of the political economy elucidated the extent and complexities of control by state (government) and corporate interests (in this case, predominantly nationals and multi-nationals engaged in energy resources extraction). The application of community development was part of, and can not be viewed as separate from, the massive state intervention that brought with it the destruction of native institutions. Community development may be seen to be part of the growth of the welfare state in the Territories as it increased dependencies on government and denied effective political control. It remains in the interests of the Territorial Government bureaucracy to continue to have a dependent clientelle to administer. The Federal Government retains its interests in the control of the natural resources. Declarations of desired political and economic control by native people through their own institutions threatened the interests of both the Territorial and Federal Governments.

The intensified interests of multi-national companies in energy resource extraction were also threatened by demands by native people for political and economic control. These companies were interested only in access to the resources. These corporations had no interest in the native people, even as a labour force, as they had become

functionally dispensable in economic relations of production.

The application of community development in the Northwest Territories through the imposition of pre-determined Euro-Canadian institutions was intended to extend and entrench the power relations and interests of state and capital. As supported by the data gained from participant-observation and the interviews, community development served to co-opt people and to diffuse energy that likely would have gone toward a more structural change of society.[4] In fact, whenever community development did result in a challenge to these structures, community development approaches were suppressed.

From the analysis of the political economy, it is clear that there are class divisions and antagonisms in the Northwest Territories. The interests of the government-corporate interplay are not the same as the interests of the native organizations or of the majority of native people. Power and wealth are not equally distributed in the Territories. Therefore, the conclusion drawn is that community development is unable to function in this context in order to achieve significant social change and control by the native people over their own process of development (*supra*, p. 30). Not to challenge the political and economic structures created by the class domination resulting from the penetration of capitalism and imperialism into the

Northwest Territories, and not to challenge the racist basis of relationships is to assure a continuation of the dependency, underdevelopment and colonial relationships of the native people, not their development.

However, everybody in the Territories is structurally bound into relationships of exploiter-exploited (which for the most part falls along racial lines). It will be impossible to achieve humanizing development for anyone in the Territories unless the exploitative basis of colonial racist relationships are recognized and dealt with, which community development as a process has no capacity for. Non-native people, especially those who decide to become long-term residents, will have to decide whether they will try to work toward understanding and changing these relationships or continue to be part of this dehumanizing and anti-developmental process that dehumanizes them also (Freire, 1972:32). Therefore, the possibility of development for the non-native population, including interveners, is inextricably tied to the possibility of development for the native population of the Territories.

The analysis of the political economy indicated that the response of many native people to the conditions of dependency, underdevelopment and lack of control over their development process has been the emergence of ethnicity and nationalism. From this base of nationalism and ethnicity native organizations have articulated a definition of

development in their own interest which is different from that which the expanding government and corporate interplay has defined as development (which has included community development). This contradiction was most blatantly evidenced through the debate of the Berger Inquiry over the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

To summarize, the theory of community development states that it creates social change whereby people can gain control over their lives. However, the critical assessment of the application of community development in the Northwest Territories has shown that it could not create significant social change because community development is an inadequate theory of political and economic relations. In fact it was not intended to create social change whereby the native people could gain control over their own process of development. Therefore, tensions and frustrations resulted for interveners who were attempting to create social change.

The identification of these sources of role conflict for interveners created by association with community development was engendered by the transformed view of the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories. This transformed view in the form of the analysis of the political economy is deemed essential by the notion of development in the liberation literature. The above discussion has shown that the theory of community development does not evoke an adequate analysis of the

political economy and the structural causes of underdevelopment for the native people of the Northwest Territories. This inadequacy is affirmed by the experiences of interveners recorded in Chapter Three. The alternative model of development implicit in the liberation literature has been shown to more adequately interpret the political, economic and social realities of the Territories.

The analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories and the above assessment of community development as a model of development therein have indicated explanations for role conflicts experienced by interveners working in association with this model. The source of these conflicts was the inability of community development as a model of development to adequately deal with the structures and relationships which are determinants of the political economy of the Territories. The actual role of interveners implied by community development in the Territories will now be assessed, using insights from the liberation model, through re-analyzing the data presented in Chapter Three in order to understand the tensions, frustrations and conflict experienced by interveners. Insights gained from the alternative role implicit in solidarity work outlined in Chapter One will also be incorporated.

## The Role of Interveners in Community Development in the Northwest Territories

There are difficulties created with specific regard to the role implied for interveners by traditional community development theory. These are in addition to role conflicts which arise as logical extensions of the inadequacies of community development as a model of development. The role implied by community development meant that interveners facilitated the process of the 'development' of native people of the Northwest Territories. Interveners were to have no personal interest in this 'developmental' process; they were not to be concerned with development on their own behalf. They were to remain a-political (*supra*, p. 41). Focusing on their relationships with native people was not encouraged. Chapter Three outlined tensions which arose for interveners in the Northwest Territories. The following assessment indicates how adherence to the assumptions about role implied by community development theory relate to the tensions outlined in Chapter Three which arose for these interveners.

Just as the application of community development in the Northwest Territories co-opted native people, it also co-opted interveners working within that application. As was shown through the interviews, interveners were attracted by the professed ability of community development to enable native people to gain more control over their lives (*supra*,

p. 100). However, as "professionals" with no personal interest in the development of native people in the Territories, and largely a-political, interveners served the interests of the government. This supports Talcott Parson's notion of social control by objective professionals (*supra*, p. 39). Unconsciously they became part of the transition of the Territories to a welfare state dependent on government subsidization and of the imposition of colonial institutions and exploitative economic relations. Role conflicts were often internalized individually (that is, problems were viewed to have been created by the interveners personally). In cases where interveners assumed the interests of the native people in a way that seriously challenged the interests of the status quo, they were either suppressed, transferred, or they chose to leave out of frustration. This fact was indicated in the interviews. Also, the majority of Territorial Government employees involved in writing the "Paper on the Philosophy of Local Government" or the Baker Lake Affair have since left the Government and most have left the Territories.

Chapter Three recorded the experiences of a number of interveners who worked in the Territories in programs using a community development approach (local government, Company of Young Canadians, co-op development, Local Employment Assistance Program). For most, the community development role had been viewed as a role facilitative of a process

whereby native people would gain increased power over their lives. Over time the reality of working in such programs raised questions about their inability to bring about development without addressing power relationships.

The question of asymmetries of power was raised not just at the structural level but also at the level of relationships between interveners and those groups of people with whom they worked. These power inequities are directly reflected in the relationships between interveners and native people. The tensions and contradictions regarding exploitation, paternalism, racism, sexism, non-responsibility and inequities of power (*supra*, p. 104) raised questions that focused directly on the relationship between the interveners and those native people with whom they were working. These contradictions forced the interveners to question what interests were being served within that relationship just as they were forced to question the interests being served by "community development" at the structural level.

Chapter Three also recorded the negative reaction of a native person to being at the receiving end of the facilitative or helping role of community development. The process had made him feel inadequate and less human instead of more in control. His experience as an internal intervener served to clarify the fact that many of the tensions identified by the external interveners, such as exploitation

and power asymmetries were not limited to relationships between native and non-natives.

On both the level of the model and on the level of the role, community development did not encourage reflection on the relationships of power in the Northwest Territories. This served to mystify or cover the interests of the Federal or Territorial Governments (and those of national or multi-national corporations) that the interveners represented in the communities. On the level of role, the power of interveners that was derived by working for government or organizations which had real power over native people, largely remained unconscious. In fact, in some cases, interveners tried to deny that they were part of the government power even when working for it, rather that they were "for the people." This denial did not change the real power that they had over certain decisions, over budgets, in influence within the government and served to continue to mystify realities of power within the relationship with native people. It could not change the reality of being part of the massive state intervention impacting on the native people of the Territories.

The colonial history and cross-cultural institutional imposition that continues into the present in the Northwest Territories makes race a major determinant in the relationship between native and non-native people. Interveners were usually a different race (that is, not Dene

or Inuit) and were also usually from a different class background.[5] Race and class in combination with the institutional power gained by their positions afforded interveners a great deal of power in relationships with native people creating asymmetrical power relationships. This power was largely unrecognized and mystified by the community development facilitative role of non-interest.

The analysis of the political economy provides insights into power differentials at the structural level which have implications for role conflict in the relationships between interveners and those native people with whom they work. The participant-observation and interview data raise concerns regarding experiences where interveners felt native people had not assumed responsibility in work they were to do together. However, it has been shown how the paternalism of Euro-Canadian religious, education and government institutions which were imposed on native people engendered responses of apathy, non-responsibility and inability to deal with authority among many native people (*supra*, p. 124). These responses cannot be understood separate from their structural bases. The racist basis of relationships between native people and non-native people in Territories, which also creates role conflict for interveners, must similarly be understood as to the justification it provides for the political and economic structures and relationships of colonialism and capitalism.

The results of asymmetrical power relationships were that those who intervened had power and in many cases native people did not challenge this power and chose to follow suggestions made by interveners with little analysis of the impact of these actions on themselves. Native people often deferred to the interveners and undertook decisions and action because the interveners asked, based on the power the interveners had.[6] Relationships of dependency resulted. Tensions often occurred when interveners felt that they were carrying most of the responsibility in the relationship or when their labour was not recognized resulting in exploitation or when they wanted native people to assume more responsibility and take on more control for themselves rather than to defer to interveners. In sociopsychoanalytic terminology, (*c.f.* Mendel, 1972) psychofamilial relationships had been established wherein interveners could be viewed as parent figures and the native people with whom they were working could be viewed as children. These non-adult, non-equal relationships had regressive aspects such as paternalism and manipulation, that make such a process difficult to view as one of development. Not recognizing and dealing with asymmetrical power at this level makes it almost impossible to deal with asymmetrical power at the level of structures in the Territories.

The facilitative role implied by community development is part of a model of community level work that usually

meant a single intervener working on her/his own with a community or a group (for example, local government settlement managers, local Employment Assistance Program project officers). Working on one's own makes it extremely difficult to recognize asymmetrical power relationships and to determine their bases as to race, class, gender or institutional power. As evidenced in the interviews the dynamics of the relationships became too personalized and individual phenomena could not be separated. A primary example was the inability to deal with racism or the racist bases of relationships, a major contradiction in the Territories.

The question of unequal power in such relationships was one of the most difficult areas to change as both the intervener and those native people at the other end of the relationship had vested interests in keeping the relationship unconscious (as most certainly did the government). The interveners gained acknowledgement and import by native people listening to them and native people could be non-responsible if they chose because the "parent figures" would look after them or could be blamed if actions did not produce results amenable to the native people. Therefore, in most cases such power relationships remained unchallenged.

Another source of role conflict for interveners is that in the field of community development, the development

process is focused on "those to be developed." In the case of the Northwest Territories "those to be developed" were the native people. The assumption was that the interveners in their position (class) in the political economy had no need for development themselves, that interveners were static components in the development relationship. Development was not recognized as a mutual process. The manifestation in relationships was the denial of self-interest on the part of the interveners. As indicated by the interviews, the concern by interveners to define their own interest in any development process evolved away from the facilitative role that had resulted in the tensions and contradictions outlined in Chapter Three (*supra*, p. 104).

The need to define one's own interest in particular issues or work was most clearly recognized by interveners who felt exploited within the relationship that they had with native people in the Territories. Interveners felt exploited when their labour was not recognized or when they were involved in issues that could not directly be their own.[7] For example, the Dene struggle became a national struggle with a racial basis and an explicit racially based relationship to the Federal Government in terms of land claims. Those non-native interveners involved did not have this particular constitutional and legal relationship to the Federal Government thus that struggle was not directly

theirs. This necessitated coming to terms with what then was their interest in such an issue or such work.

The emerging nationalism of native peoples in the Northwest Territories, as detailed in the analysis of the political economy, lends explanation to the role conflict experienced by interveners. As non-natives, most interveners were not by definition, part of this emerging movement. The emergence of native ethnicity and nationalism worked against the development of a shared class consciousness making the creation of alliances between native and non-native people difficult. Therefore, when interveners sought to identify an interest in development on their own behalf and beyond a supportive role, tensions resulted.

Further, denial of one's own interest in the development process by interveners ultimately produced alienation from the product of their own labour. That labour was either defined by the unstated interests of the institutions that employed them, such as the Federal or Territorial Governments or by the interests of the native people with whom they worked. In many instances, the interests of the native people either did not or could not include the interveners or native people took actions that the interveners could not support. The suggestion is that the psychological aspects of this alienation resulting from lack of control over one's labour through denial of self-interest was as real in this context as the alienation

of workers from their labour as discussed by Marx.[8]

An issue connected to the denial of interest of interveners is the principle within the field of community development that interveners should be working themselves out of a job. In the context of the Northwest Territories this was perceived in terms of interveners working to replace themselves with native people. In retrospect, some of those interviewed felt that this position was more out of guilt than clear analysis and was not, for the most part, based on the interests of the interveners. Replacement by a native person was no guarantee of a continuation of a struggle for social change or challenge of oppressive institutions. It also made no allowance for a continuing and legitimate interest by the interveners in the issue or struggle in question, that is, broadly speaking, a continuing and legitimate interest in development in the Northwest Territories from their own position. This served to prevent the development of alliances of solidarity between interveners and those native people with whom they worked.

The development of the Dene Nation and the relationship to non-native interveners provides an example. It can be speculated that the initial strategy of the Company of Young Canadians (C.Y.C.) staff and volunteers in the Great Slave Lake project (*supra*, p. 67) was to work in communities by allying themselves with those elements that they felt had a

potential for change (though it may not have been consciously articulated at the time). The community people, in this case native, were to be trained as replacements for themselves and then the C.Y.C. volunteers would leave. C.Y.C. involvement had a substantial influence in the creation of the Indian Brotherhood in 1970. The firing of the non-native interveners in 1977 (two of whom had been involved in the C.Y.C. Great Slave Lake project) could be viewed as the culmination of this community development principle of working oneself out of a job, though of course not in the way the interveners initially had in mind. Theoretically this should represent a successful community development role. However, this view is clearly short-sighted as it does not consider the interests of the interveners nor does it consider the impact on, in this case, the Dene Nation of the loss of interaction with the interveners who were fired.

Essentially, the interveners brought an instrument (whether it be settlement councils, C.Y.C. or job creation projects) and a strategy for co-opting people into the instrument. As was the case with the creation of the Indian Brotherhood, native people took over from the interveners and defined their own strategy. It raises the question as to what would have happened had native people remained solely within the framework provided and had not gone on to define their own institutions and strategies such as through the

Dene Nation or the Inuit Taparisat of Canada. This question along with the question of what the loss of interaction between interveners and the Dene Nation meant to both parties, can only be raised, not dealt with herein, due to their complexity and need for further research. Similarly, the question of what has happened to the interveners who left can only be raised. However, it can be inferred from the present discussion, that one loss is the capacity for both groups to identify a shared basis for their sense of exploitation.

The inference from the above assessment is that the role of interveners implied by community development has itself been a source of role conflict for interveners in the Northwest Territories. The facilitative, a-political role of professionals with no self-interest allowed the incorporation of interveners into the imposition of colonial institutions on native people and the creation of dependencies. The facilitative role did not focus on the tensions and contradictions in the relationship between interveners and those native people with whom they worked (paternalism, exploitation, racism, sexism, asymmetries of power). In fact, asymmetries of power such as those derived from race, class and institutional position were mystified by the community development facilitative role of non-interest. The fact of working on one's own created difficulties in trying to deal with these power

relationships and led to personalization of difficulties. Role conflict also originated in the denial by interveners of their own interest as they were alienated from the products of their labour. The implied assumption of community development of working oneself out of a job denied any legitimate interest of interveners in development in the Territories and worked against the establishment of alliances of solidarity.

It has been shown that the actual experiences of interveners in the Northwest Territories contradicts the role implied for interveners by community development theory. The conclusion is that the adoption of the facilitative role implied by community development did not effectively deal with the realities faced by interveners in the Territories. This conclusion locates explanations for the role conflict experienced by interveners in the Northwest Territories in the role itself as implied by community development.

However, just as the application of community development as a model of development was a phase in the development of the Territories, so too was it a phase in the development of a number of the interveners who worked in the role implied.[9] Just as the experience helped people to question the ability of community development to bring about substantial social change, it also politicized a number of interveners to question the ability of the implied role to

deal with the contradictions in relationships with native people. This provided the impetus to move beyond the facilitative role to work toward the definition of another kind of role and another kind of relationship to those with whom they would choose to work. That role would have to encompass their own ongoing development and deal with the contradictions that had arisen in the facilitative role that were no longer acceptable. In all cases, the interveners had been significantly changed by their experiences in development work in the Northwest Territories and are continuing to try to resolve the questions raised by it, both in theory and in practice.

## An Alternative Model: The Liberation Paradigm

The inference from the above assessment of the theory of community development as applied in the Territories is that it is an inadequate theory to evoke an understanding of and to create the changes necessary in the political, economic and social realities of the Northwest Territories to enable native people to control their own change process. Re-analysis of the data from the perspective of the liberation paradigm provided a clearer understanding of these realities. Through this analysis of the political economy of the Northwest Territories, explanations were offered for the role conflict experienced by interveners associated with the application of community development.

Therfore, an alternative model of development for the Northwest Territories must recognize the existing political economy and the interests being served by it. An alternative model must incorporate the need for a major restructuring of the political and economic relations that have been created through colonialism, capitalism and imperialism. The liberation paradigm provides a model of development that incorporates the need for the level of change required in the Territories to eliminate structurally determined inequities. The liberation paradigm clearly delineates the need for changing relations of power.

In a process of liberation both native and non-native people must begin to critically reflect on the situation in which they find themselves, articulate the oppressive forces acting upon them or that they enact on others, and engage in action with others to create change. To do so the racist basis of relations in the Territories must be addressed. Effective alliances must be made across racial lines in the Territories and with others outside the Territories who share a common interest in controlling their own development process in order to create a broad based movement. The liberation process could possibly draw on some of the organizational principles of community development a long as they were used to assist people to contest and regain power to control their own development process and were not controlled by and part of a continuing institutional

imposition.

An alternative role for interveners in the context of the Northwest Territories must recognize the legitimacy of the interest of interveners in change from their own position and for their own benefit. The role must recognize interveners and native people as equal partners with a mutual interest in development (a new term to replace interveners will have to be found that incorporates the change in the definition of the role). Because of the problems that arise from "interveners" working on their own in communities, it is therefore necessary to work in groups in order to deal with such tensions as racism, sexism, exploitation and asymmetrical power. Groups of "interveners" and native groups must first analyze their own positions and determine their own interests. If situations or issues arise in which both share a common interest then the two groups could negotiate an agreement to work together to understand and to change the blocks that prevent themselves, both as native and non-native people, from being self-determining.

In addition to focusing on issues, an alternative role must focus on the relationship between interveners and those native people with whom they choose to work and deal with contradictions that arise, such as power asymmetries, exploitation and definitely in the case of the Northwest Territories, with racism. The concept of solidarity work incorporates many of the considerations for an alternative

role for interveners. In the case of the Northwest Territories this would mean non-native interveners and native people negotiating to work in a collaborative process of shared interest in whatever particular issues or struggles made sense to both. Development would be viewed as a process of growing and charging relationships for both the interveners and native people who agreed to work together in solidarity.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates that the problem of role conflict felt by interveners in the Northwest Territories was inherent in the role defined by community development theory, and in the model of development specified by that theory. It is recognized that this summary statement on the theory of community development represents one specific definition of community development. It is a definition with which some people may not agree. (*supra* p. 24) Nevertheless, the findings do imply that tensions associated with the role of interveners are partly related to this theory of community development. The findings suggest that a model of personal action and developmental theory grounded in an alternative theory, implicit in the liberation literature, may be a more useful strategy for reducing domination and creating social change.

There are a number of possible directions for further research implied by this work. Obviously it would be most

useful to analyze the experience of "interveners" who began their work within the liberation paradigm. It may well be that a multitude of new problems are generated by such experience, problems not touched upon by this thesis.

Within that context, determining how to identify interests at a sufficiently general level that all parties engaged in development would recognize them might well be a central problem for such interveners. It is apparent from this work that governmental programs which claimed to provide local government for all became programs which undermined local governments and imposed white-dominated local governments. Clearly a search for truly shared interests would be a search to avoid similar solutions to the "racially" defined interests of the Dene and Inuit.

The different experience of the priest suggests that some of the problems of the community development model may be precisely in the "professional" definition of the intervener. Although this thesis has addressed that question in the context of the alternative model of development, the priest's experience does suggest the need for further research into it. This may be particularly valuable for it suggests that the personal development which most interveners associated with working through their experience in a collectivity, may occur under specific circumstances in a person working in relative isolation.

Finally, the question of gender which in some ways initiated my own search for answers has not been addresssed in this work. Like the issue of race for the native person, it is gender which seems to provide a phenomenological interpretation of oppression for women working as interveners. A quite different research focus would be required to identify the precise relation of gender and interests to the political economy of development and underdevelopment.

## Footnotes to Chapter V

1. The fear of approaching political independence of African colonies was a factor in the use of community development by European colonial offices. This particular fear was not a critical factor in term of the Federal Government intervention in the Northwest Territories in the 1960's. However, recent demands by the Dene Nation for recognition as a nation within Canada have evoked similar fears.

2. The results of other community development programs and approaches used in the Northwest Territories must be analyzed as dialectical as well. The community development program of the Indian Brotherhood in the early 1970's, though not viewed as an over-all success by the Brotherhood, did produce a group of leaders who later influenced the Dene movement as a nation. Conversely, the development of this leadership, has been viewed as the creation of an elite. This criticism can also be lodged against the community development approach used in the projects of the Federal Local Employment Assistance Program. However, these same projects did create, to some extent, more local control over economic endeavours. Awareness of the workings of government, ability to deal with it and resistance to government domination were also increased as unintentional outcomes of intervention in development by the government. However, the government was able to contain and focus most resistance within the confines of specific program mandates, effectively co-opting energies that might have resulted in resistance from a broader base.

3. The history of the Company of Young Canadians attests to the argument that community development approaches and programs which begin to challenge too much those interests which profit from a continuation of the established political economy will not be tolerated. The Company of Young Canadians was radically restructured in 1970, influenced by the events surrounding a number of projects across the country including the Great Slave Lake project. The ideological structure changed and the Company no longer operated internally on the ideology of participatory democracy. At the project level, travel was restricted preventing the creation of alliances throughout regions that had previously occurred. The orientation of projects was changed to reduce their political content. By 1975 the Company of Young Canadians had been phased out altogether. (This information was obtained from a discussion in January 1981 with Marilyn Assheton-Smith, former C.Y.C. field-staff in Yellowknife).

4. This information was obtained from an interview with Wilf Bean, Edmonton, Alberta, September, 1980.

5. At this point in the thesis, class is not used in the traditional Marxist sense. The use of class in this case denotes the way that it is used most frequently in North America, that is, to express differences in socio-economic status. It is used to indicate that compared to the majority of native people with whom they worked, the interveners had more extensive formal education, wider travel experience and broader exposure to and options for work. The socio-economic status of the interveners can be approximated to the generic use of "middle-class." (Warner, 1949).

6. This information was obtained from an interview with Wilf Bean, Edmonton, Alberta, September, 1980.

7. The historical reality of the Northwest Territories can not and should not deny the impact and influence that the labour of interveners had on change and development. For example, the Dene Nation movement or the development of specific projects (of the Company of Young Canadians or the Local Employment Assistance Program) were not just a product of the Dene or community people. The labour of interveners must be recognized not denied as it is by the community development facilitative role. To deny that labour is to exploit it.

8. I suggest that a substantial part of the reason for the common occurrence of so-called "burn-out" amongst community development workers lies in the area of ambivalence and lack of clarity about what their interests are in their relationships to community people. This is complicated by an inability to deal with the contradictions that arise from avoiding the question of asymmetry of power in such relationships.

9. There still are substantial numbers of interveners in the Territories who continue to assume roles similar to the facilitative role implied by community development.

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# APPENDIX I

## EXPERIENCES OF THE AUTHOR THAT RESULTED IN THE THESIS TOPIC

The following is a summary of my work experiences and involvement in community development and issues from which grew the concerns over the question of the role of interveners in the Northwest Territories.

1972-1973: I was co-ordinator of a self-help action group of physically disabled in Edmonton, Alberta. Funded through the Local Initiatives Program, the project undertook research, government lobbying and social services. As representative of the group at the 1972 Western Canada Community Leadership Lab. in Brandon, Manitoba, I was first exposed to the concept of community development and became inspired by those involved.

1973-1974: I was a student in the Masters Program in Community Development at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. My field-placement during the summer of 1973 was to do research with the Social Welfare Branch, Government of the Yukon, Whitehorse, Yukon.

1974-1975: As a project officer with the Job Creation Branch of the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration I monitored opportunities for youth projects in northwestern Alberta, and experienced my first direct work with native

people.

1975-1978: I transferred with the Job Creation Branch to Yellowknife at the end of 1974. I worked with Local Initiative Program and Opportunities for Youth projects in most Mackenzie Valley Dene communities and Inuit communities in the Inuvik Region and Baker Lake in the Keewatin Region. The work involved program and project development and monitoring of community service oriented projects.

In late 1975 I became a project officer with the Local Employment Assistance Program (L.E.A.P.) of the Job Creation Branch. Program objectives were to establish self-sufficient community based businesses or training programs whereby on-going employment could be provided for groups of people unable to find or maintain work through the normal job market. Based on a self-help philosophy this program was viewed by some to use a community development approach, at least more so than short-term funding programs. Responsibilities included projects in Spence Bay (women's craft shop) and Baker Lake (Inuit cultural arts and crafts production shop) and the preparation and negotiation for a project with the Dene Nation to establish their own community development training program.

1976-1977: I was a member of Alternatives North, a Yellowknife based northern support group that supported aboriginal rights to self-determination. Alternatives North supported the Dene through an anti-pipeline stance during

the Berger Inquiry. The group held information sessions, information pickets, campaigns to the media and met with elected officials.

At the end of 1978, I resigned from the Job Creation Branch. I felt frustrated and disillusioned. I was unable to develop a functional analysis of the political/economic structure of the north and unable to define a positive role for myself within that context. Project effectiveness and my own personal effectiveness in achieving positive change were no longer clear.

Contradictions emerged between the issues of those involved with projects (L.E.A.P.), the government and native organizations and how each defined development and my view of the process of development and my struggle toward it. Concerns over asymmetrical power relationships as they existed between races, between sexes and within various institutions, were heightened through these four years, rather than reduced or resolved. It was this experience which provided the background and motivation to undertake this particular thesis topic.

# APPENDIX II

## QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE INTERVIEWS

A. General:

1. When you first became involved with (development) work in the Northwest Territories, what was your analysis of the situation in terms of what needed to be changed (to improve the situation for people; to give them more control over their lives)?

2. Has that analysis changed? How? Why?

3. What are the major determinants of the position of native people in the Northwest Territories currently? Of your own position?

B. To clarify assumptions underlying the theory of community development--how they define the role of interveners:

1. When were you first exposed to the concept of community development?

2. In what circumstances?

3. What did it mean to you?
. . .In terms of the Northwest Territories?

4. Have you ever been involved in or exposed to an activity viewed to be community development? What?

5. What were the objectives of that activity and what were the results--short/long term?

6. Did it result in what you would define as development?

7. Why did you do this work?

8. On what basis did you get into it?

9. What was your relationship to the desired outcome of the group you were working with?

10. What was the analytical basis of your work?

11. Was your work part of a formalized community development

approach/program or were you using a community development approach within a job otherwise defined?

12. What and whose interests were served by such a concept of community development.

13. Did community development help people to gain a clearer analysis of the factors preventing them from gaining control over their lives?

14. In the definition of community development that you accepted and in the nature of the work you did what role was implied for yourself?

    Facilitator/teacher/technician/strategist/etc.

15. How did that define you in relationship to those with whom you were working?

16. What was your interest in change?

17. How did your political view relate to your work?

18. Did you consider yourself to be a professional?

19. Did you consider yourself to be a helper?

20. Did you see yourself as "doing your own thing" in that role or as part of a larger strategy/movement?

21. Were you acting as an individual or working with other interveners who had a similar relationship to the group of people seeking development?

22. In the 1960's/early 1970's, the term community development was in relatively comman usage by the Federal/Territorial government. What do you think was meant by their usage of the term?

23. Why do you think it is in less common usage currently?

24. How did/does community development in the Northwest Territories relate to:

    political/economic/social structure
    colonialism
    racism
    class structure
    bureaucratization

25. Do you have a different view of community development now . . . or of development? What processes brought about that change?

people?
theory?
resources?
circumstances?
encounters/struggles?

C. To understand the dynamics of the relationship between intervener and those she/he is engaged with in the process of development?"

1. What was your relationship to those "to be developed?"

2. Were there difficulties in the relationship? Nature of these?

3. What is the relationship of development viewed in broad terms to:

    i) intergroup relations such as
        class
        gender
        insider/outsider
        cross-cultural

    ii) intra group relations such as
        class
        culture
        gender

    iii) personal development

4. How would you define who you are by membership in certain groups (in order of importance as a determinant) for example, Canadian, woman, middle class, etc.

5. Which ones are meaningful for analysis of your position in relationship to development in the Northwest Territories?

    race/gender/class/religion, etc.

6. What part does difference in race/culture/class/gender make?

7. How important is each as a determinant of the relationship between intervener and the group she/he is engaged with?

8. In terms of the work that you did how did you decide on a choice of strategy/action? What kinds of things were taken into consideration--factors that entered into it? (In regard to a specific situation--for example, the

Berger Inquiry) in terms of:

in-group out-group relationship, that is, internal versus external
base of work (community, region)
source of income
social structure (inherent facilities and constraints)
associated definitions of work roles

D. To explore the question of asymmetrical power in the relationship between interveners and community groups:

1. How do unequal (asymmetrical) power relationships affect the development process and the relationship between interveners and those they work with?

   --is the question of power an important one?

2. On what basis can the relationship become equal (symmetrical) in terms of power?

3. Is it important that the educational process be a mutual one for both resource person and those she/he is working with?

4. Do you see a difference between support and solidarity work? What might that mean in the Northwest Territories?

E. To determine what part gender of the intervener plays in this relationship and in defining this role:

1. Did your gender play any part of your role as an intervener?

2. Can you give examples of where gender changed the nature of the relationship with those you were working with?

3. Does your gender have any part in your analysis of relationships, for example, in terms of power?

4. Were you influenced by feminist literature? liberation literature.

5. How?

6. How do you relate to the position of native women in terms of their development/liberation as women?

7. Is there a role for non-native women (or men) in regard to changing the position of native women?

F. To understand how the self-interest of the interveners, especially in terms of their own liberation, relates to those they are working with:

1. How did your own development relate to the development objectives of the group that you were involved with?--and to the kind of relationship you had with them?

2. Are there reasons for subordinating any questions of inequality to a larger definition of the goals of development or self-determination?

3. Is it necessary to subordinate your own interests in order to be involved in the development of others?

G. To redefine the concept of development in a liberation context:

1. How do you define development now?

2. Does it involve the need for restructuring of economic/political relations? What theoretical influences are there in this definition?

3. If you do not use development as a term, how do you define your activity/work now?

4. In the context of the Northwest Territories what would development mean?

5. What were the major influences in coming to a re-definition of development?
   events, people, books, circumstances.

H. To determine what could be, if any, a progressive role for non-native interveners in the Northwest Territories that would result in "authentic" development:

1. Given your definition of development, do you think there is a role for non-native people working with native people in the Northwest Territories, if so, what?

2. How/where would you choose to work in the Northwest Territories?

3. What would the nature of the relationship be?

4. Is it possible to be involved in development work as you define it while working for Federal Government/ Territorial Government/ Native organizations/ private

consulting work/ anyone?

5. On what basis? With what objectives in mind?

6. Can that role be worked our on an individual basis or must there be a group of people who view themselves in a similar position to yourself?

I. To clarify whether or not such as role is compatible with the concept of community development.

1. Is community development as a concept/approach at all useful in your current definition of development.

2. Could community development be adapted to encompass such a role?